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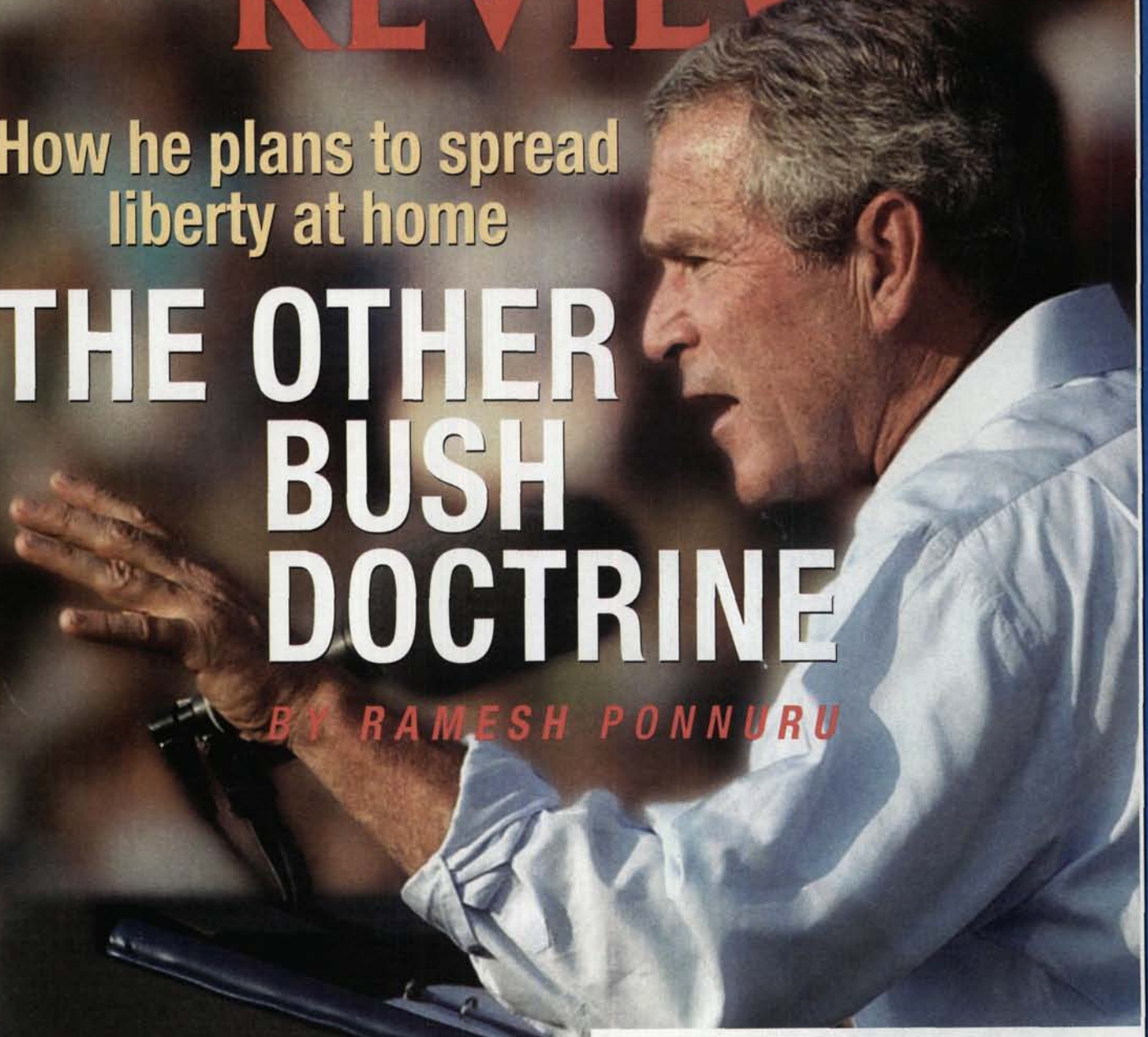
JOHN P. WALTERS VS. ETHAN A. NADELMANN ON MARIJUANA

NATIONAL REVIEW

How he plans to spread liberty at home

THE OTHER BUSH DOCTRINE

BY RAMESH PONNURU



PLUS:

David Frum, Jim Geraghty, John J. Miller, John O'Sullivan, Mark Steyn & The Editors on Bush, the convention, and the fall campaign

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SEPTEMBER 27, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 18

NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ **COVER STORY**

The End of Liberalism

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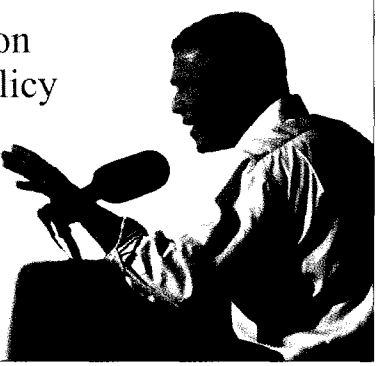
Most pundits have said that President Bush, in his convention speech, got bogged down in a "laundry list" of domestic-policy proposals, with many conservatives complaining about the various spending initiatives contained in the speech. But these commentaries miss a rather large point. Bush did something extraordinary: He proposed a practical plan to end American liberalism (as we know it). *By Ramesh Ponnuru*



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letters to the editor

THE BOOK ON CONSERVATIVES

Ramesh Ponnuru's review of our book *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America* ("Not Quite Right," August 9) was so warped that we have decided to break a pledge never to complain about any of our critics.

Ponnuru chooses to ignore the main argument of the book—that the conservative movement both exemplifies and exaggerates American exceptionalism. Instead, he picks a quarrel with a small part of our text. Ponnuru's objection is that we argue social conservatives can sometimes be electoral liabilities to the Republican party. Disagreeing with us on that score is certainly legitimate. But it does not justify Ponnuru's selective misquoting, ignoring of context, presenting differences of opinion as errors of fact, and downright errors of his own.

We plead guilty to two of the factual errors Ponnuru lists: The cruise hosted by Oliver North and Wayne LaPierre was (partly) sponsored by the National Rifle Association rather than NATIONAL REVIEW, and *The Weekly Standard* was founded in 1995, not 1996.

Ponnuru is either wrong or guilty of Michael Mooreish misrepresentation on almost everything else. For instance, he claims that it is "not true" to say that 100 people on death row have been exonerated; most respected commentators accept that, for good or bad reasons, more than 100 Americans have been found not guilty of the murders for which they were sentenced to death. He says "Howard Dean was not 'a firm supporter of Israel,' at least in the view of firm supporters of Israel." This ignores context. Our sentence calling Dean "a firm supporter of Israel" occurs in a paragraph assessing the Democrat from the perspective of left-wing Europe, by whose standards, alas, Dean is certainly a firm supporter of Israel (his campaign was co-chaired by a former president of AIPAC).

Ponnuru often presents one part of our argument while ignoring others. For instance, he decides that we consider the Republicans' southern strategy "just terrible: They won southern whites over by sending subtle anti-black messages." We do argue that race was a big factor in the South, as do many fair-minded observers; but we also explain that there were other forces helping the GOP, from the arrival of immigrants from the northeast to the rise of an entrepreneurial business class. Similarly, from Ponnuru's review, you might assume that our book was about abortion, and that we depict abortion as a disastrous issue for Republicans. In fact, we point out that it helped lure blue-collar conservatives to the GOP; that there are signs younger women are more pro-life than their mothers; and that most voters "recoil" at partial-birth abortion.

Yes, we are rude about John Ashcroft—not because we think there is something wrong in being a social conservative, but because we think the attorney general may have ended up doing social conservatives more harm than good. By expanding the federal government's reach, he has trampled on states' rights, and one day a liberal attorney general will use that to suppress conservatives. Ponnuru counters with the idea that the Supreme Court started the culture wars. But does that make it sensible for Ashcroft to take them further?

We could produce other examples, but our point is simple. Zealotry masquerading as fact-checking is Mooreism, and something that NATIONAL REVIEW should condemn—not allow to run for two pages.

John Micklethwait and
Adrian Wooldridge
London and Washington, D.C.

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RAMESH PONNURU REPLIES: I pointed out more than a dozen errors in the book; the authors dispute two. More than 100 people on death row have not been "exonerated"; that number originates with an anti-death-penalty group and includes many people taken off death row for technicalities. The legal system is quite capable of distinguishing such cases from actual innocence, and the fact that other people make the authors' error does not excuse their lazy repetition of it. Thirty House Democrats wrote a letter repudiating Dean's comment that it was "not our place to take sides" in the Mideast. If the authors wanted to say that Dean is more pro-Israel than many Europeans, that is what they should have said—not that he is a "firm supporter of Israel."

The authors miss my point about the South. They oppose racial preferences (as do I). So they do not consider the possibility that opposition to those preferences was part of the GOP's southern strategy. This kind of convenient analytical failure pervades the book.

The authors return repeatedly to the subject of abortion, getting it wrong almost every time, sometimes hilariously. (Ann Coulter, who compares abortion to the Holocaust, is said to be reticent about the issue. The research budget for their next book should include access to Google.) They now retreat to the claim that social conservatives "can sometimes be electoral liabilities" to the Republican party. I never disputed that trivial point, which is hardly the thrust of their book's comments about social conservatism.

Responding to the authors' delusions about John Ashcroft would take too much space. Suffice it to say that Ashcroft has merely followed the Clinton administration's lead on medical marijuana, rather than "expand[ed] the federal government's reach." Perhaps the authors, in attempting to write a book about American conservatism, should have included a line or two about the Supreme Court's role in starting cultural conflicts rather than depicting social conservatives as the initiators of them.

People who fling around comparisons to Michael Moore should not adopt his attitude about factual accuracy.

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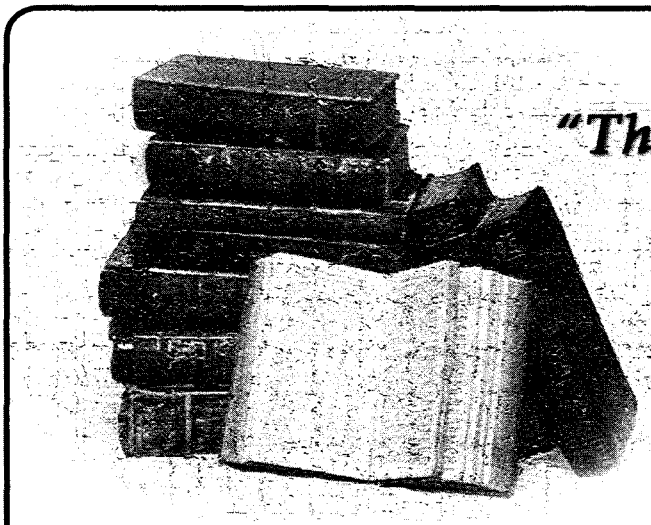

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for the record

"I hate to bring this up, but Your 'tithing' thing is kind of an economic disincentive . . . "

■ In *The Hotline*'s survey of state polls, President **Bush** leads in 28 states worth 274 electoral votes and **John Kerry** leads in 20 states worth 231 electoral votes (270 needed to win). . . . *Newsweek* poll: Bush 52 percent, Kerry 41 percent, Nader 3 percent. . . . Bush at American Legion convention: "In this different kind of war, we may never sit down at a peace table, but make no mistake about it: We are winning and we will win. We will win by staying on the offensive. We will win by spreading liberty." . . . Bush at GOP convention: "If America shows uncertainty and weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch." . . . "We must strengthen Social Security by allowing younger workers to save some of their taxes in a personal account, a nest egg you can call your own, and government can never take away." . . . "There are some things my opponent is for. He's proposed more than $2 trillion in new federal spending so far, and that's a lot, even for a senator from Massachusetts. To pay for that spending, he is running on a platform of increasing taxes—and that's the kind of promise a politician usually keeps." . . . "Because a caring society will value its weakest members, we must make a place for the unborn child."

■ Vice President **Cheney**: "[Kerry] declared at the Democratic convention that he will forcefully defend America—after we have been attacked. My fellow Americans, we have already been attacked." . . . "There is a difference between leading a coalition of many nations and submitting to the objections of a few. George W. Bush will never seek a permission slip to defend the American people." . . . "In his years in Washington, John Kerry has been one of a hundred votes in the United States Senate. And fortunately on matters of national security, his views rarely prevailed. But the presidency is an entirely different proposition. A senator can be wrong for 20 years, without consequence to the nation. But a president always casts the deciding vote."

■ Sen. **Zell Miller** (D., Ga.): "Motivated more by partisan politics than by national security, today's Democratic leaders see America as an occupier, not a liberator." . . . "In [the Democrats'] warped way of thinking, America is the problem, not the solution. They don't believe there is any real danger in the world except that which America brings upon itself through our clumsy and misguided foreign policy. It is not their patriotism, it is their judgment that has been so sorely lacking." . . . "Senator Kerry has made it clear that he would use military force only if approved by the United Nations. Kerry would let Paris decide when America needs defending. I want Bush to decide."

■ Gov. **Arnold Schwarzenegger** (R., Calif.): "To those critics who are so pessimistic about our economy, I say: Don't be economic girlie-men." . . . Sen. **Sam Brownback** (R., Kan.): "A fundamental principle of our democracy and our Republican party is respect for the inherent dignity, equality, and sanctity of every human life." . . . Gov. **Mitt Romney** (R., Mass.): "This nation can't afford presidential leadership that comes in 57 varieties." . . . Sen. **Rick Santorum** (R., Pa.): "Religion in America must never be established, but it also must never be exiled." . . . **Rudy Giuliani**: "I've never seen so many Republicans in New York City. It's great. I finally feel at home." . . . "My point about John Kerry being inconsistent is best described in his own words, not mine. I quote John Kerry, 'I actually did vote for the $87 billion before I voted against it.' Maybe this explains **John Edwards**'s need for two Americas."

■ Lt. Gov. **Michael Steele** (R., Md.): "[Kerry] recently said that he doesn't want to use the word 'war' to describe our efforts to fight terrorism. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I don't want to use the words 'commander-in-chief' to describe John Kerry." . . . Federal Reserve chairman **Alan Greenspan** on Social Security reform: "If we delay, the adjustments could be abrupt and painful." . . . Kerry on Social Security: "We've made little fixes, little jots and jags here and there, that have been able to change it." . . . Club for Growth president **Steve Moore** on Gov. **Bill Owens** (R., Colo.): "We want this guy to run for president in 2008." . . . Former governor **Mario Cuomo** (D., N.Y.) on Gov. **George Pataki** (R., N.Y.) introducing Bush at convention, in New York *Daily News*: "They are anointing him as a potential presidential candidate."

■ **Nader** on Kerry: "He is surrounded by consultants who are losers." . . . Nader fails to make ballot in Massachusetts, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Texas. . . . **Bill Clinton**, in *New York Sun*: "I don't know why the Republicans hate me so much. It is because I'm a white Southern Baptist, and they wonder why I'm not Republican, especially since I'm getting all these tax cuts." . . . Rep. **Ed Schrock** (R., Va.) announces he won't run for reelection, after Internet blogger says he's gay. . . . Former housing secretary **Mel Martinez** wins GOP Senate nomination in Florida. . . . Pennsylvania's AFL-CIO endorses Sen. **Arlen Specter** (R.) over Rep. **Joe Hoeffel** (D.).

■ **David Letterman**: "Here's some important news. The U.S. is bracing for its third hurricane this year. When John Kerry heard this he said, 'This is proof that President Bush is losing the war on weather.'" **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ John Kerry seems to be sinking. When *did* Gore endorse him?

■ "All men are mortal. Socrates is a man. Therefore, Socrates is mortal." That truism spins a bond across all but the widest chasms. We wish for Bill Clinton, and his family, that he have a full and speedy recovery.

■ Before the balloons had been cleaned up in New York, John Kerry launched a blistering attack on Bush's National Guard service and Cheney's five Vietnam deferments. It's not the first time he has spoken in this vein, for all his fulsome assurances that he had never made anyone's Vietnam service an issue and never would. Kerry was heeding the advice of Democrats who believe that the election is being stolen from him by scurrilous negative attacks and that what he needs to get back in the game is to launch some scurrilous negative attacks of his own. This is a foolish misdiagnosis of Kerry's problem. The Swift Boat charges hit home because Kerry staked so much on Vietnam, not really having anything else to say on national security. The charges themselves need to be carefully considered (as Byron York did in our last issue). Some of them are true, some unproven and probably unprovable, and others likely wrong. But if Kerry had truth on his side as firmly and unquestionably as the press suggests, he would simply sit down with a reporter and explain away all the charges, which he has been notably unwilling to do. As for the Swift Boat attacks related to his 1971 testimony, they are simply devastating. Kerry can talk about Bush and Cheney and Vietnam all he likes, and it won't have much of an effect—because neither of them has ever attempted to establish national-security credentials based on what he did 35 years ago. Kerry would be better off, as Bill Clinton suggested from his hospital bed, talking about issues. But watch for him to continue to feel the pull of a noxious and wounded Democratic id, urging a campaign as tantrum.

■ The Democratic seething has led—surprise!—to a new round of stories questioning President Bush's Vietnam-era service in the Texas Air National Guard. These new questions involve a man named Ben Barnes, a former speaker of the Texas House, who claims that he greased the way for a young, draft-averse George W. Bush to get a coveted spot in the Guard. "I became more ashamed of myself than I've ever been because it was the worst thing I did," Barnes said recently. But there are some problems with Barnes's story. First, Barnes concedes that no one from the Bush family asked him to help young W. In fact, in 1999, Barnes's lawyer issued a statement saying, "Neither [George H. W.] Bush nor any other member of the Bush family asked for Barnes' help. . . . Barnes has no knowledge that Governor Bush or President Bush knew of Barnes' recommendation." Second, although Barnes claims that a Bush family friend, a man named Sidney Adger, made the request, he concedes that he simply assumes Adger was asking on Bush's behalf, because Adger never said anything about it. Adger isn't talking; he died in 1996. Third, remember how the allegedly partisan motives of the Swift Boat Veterans almost immediately became a large part of that story? Well, there has been far less coverage of the fact that Ben Barnes is a big, *big* Democrat. He is, in fact, one of a very small group of the party's elite "Trustees" who have raised more than $250,000 for Democrats. And just take a look at some of Barnes's own contributions: donations to the Kerry campaign in the primaries, the Kerry-Edwards campaign in the general election, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and, among others, Senators Hillary Rodham Clinton, Tom Daschle, Edward Kennedy, Harry Reid, Charles Schumer, Patrick Leahy, Christopher Dodd, Barbara Mikulski, Byron Dorgan, and Debbie Stabenow. Now, this Democratic mega-donor is making charges based on tenuous assumptions the verification of which would depend on the testimony of a third party now conveniently dead. If they want to win the White House, Barnes and his fellow Democrats will have to do better than that.

Texans call it "walking"

ROMAN GENN

■ Did President Bush really tell Matt Lauer that we could not win the war on terrorism? Looking over the transcript of the *Today* show, we can see two alternative interpretations of his remarks. Either Bush was saying that we could not win the war

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Brown: A Great Decision—Except for Schools

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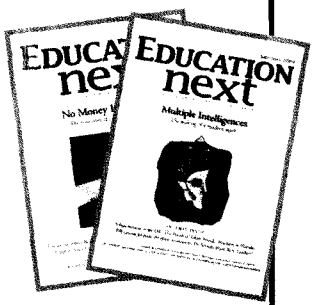

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Oliver Brown—the plaintiff in the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision—sued a school board, not a public park commission, even though such facilities were also segregated. Within the private sector, discrimination was pervasive.

Yet, today, we see marked progress toward racial equality in parks, recreation programs, politics, communications, commerce, and industry—but not in schools.

The irony is all the greater, inasmuch as the Supreme Court, in *Brown,* outlawed only school segregation—on the shaky grounds that such segregation harmed the "hearts and minds" of African American children.

But at a time when the workplace is more often racially mixed than not, ***Brown*'s educational consequences remain ambivalent.** On the plus side, most school districts have become as integrated as city demographics allow. But the price paid for this integration has been high—involuntary busing that separated schools from families and communities; large, difficult-to-manage school campuses; white flight; and lowered expectations for students of all social backgrounds.

Worse, the performance of African American students has continued to trail that of whites. Although the gap narrowed in the 1980s, it opened again in the 1990s, a time when the principles of *Brown* should have been firmly entrenched.

Conventional liberals blame "politicians" for inadequate funding or "society" for its abiding, if now hidden, racism. But money has seldom bought educational progress, and one is hard put to explain the survival of racism in schools when it is on the wane elsewhere.

Conventional conservatives are more apt to "blame the victim," suggesting that the child-rearing practices of the African American family are the root cause. Yet the disparities in black and white achievement are smallest among preschoolers—the age at which family influences are pronounced and school influence nil.

Closer to the truth are those who blame Hollywood, television, and the fashion industry for fostering a drug-infested, antilearning, "hip-hop" youth culture that burgeoned in the 1990s. But if street culture is the problem, then assigned neighborhood schools are not the solution. Only in rare instances can traditional neighborhood schools suppress the seductions of their immediate environment.

Learning is better fostered when schools draw boundaries that separate classroom life from the street-culture opiates. Because good private schools have discovered this secret, African American students who attend them are much more likely than their public school peers to complete college.

Unfortunately, some still argue against school choice on the grounds that African American families are too ill-informed to pick good schools. But interest, knowledge, and commitment will come naturally to all parents, once choice is made available. To claim otherwise is racist in the extreme. **School choice is, indeed, the civil rights issue of our time.**

—Paul E. Peterson

Paul E. Peterson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and a member of the Koret Task Force on K–12 Education. He is a professor at Harvard University.

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THE WEEK...

within four years, or he was saying that we cannot eradicate all terrorism forever. Both claims are true. Neither calls into question the essential soundness of a policy of hunting down terrorists, preempting attacks by them, and changing the conditions in the Middle East that breed them. The comments do, however, point to the limits of the slogan "the war on terrorism," at least if those words are taken in a simple-minded, literal way. That's a reason for changing our terminology, not for changing our president.

■ That was certainly a barnburner Zell Miller delivered at Madison Square Garden. Republicans were thrilled to hear a Democrat forthrightly zinging his party on national-security issues. Most of his specific criticisms were well-aimed. John Kerry does have a weak record on defense, and the Democrats are less trustworthy on security than the Republicans. Miller has been criticized for saying that "Kerry would let Paris decide when America needs defending," since Kerry said in his own convention speech that he would "never give any nation or international institution a veto over our national security." But Miller's comment was fair. Kerry's speech made it reasonably clear that if someone attacked America, he would not check with France before responding. But in more ambiguous cases, when threats were merely gathering, the emphasis Kerry puts on the need for allies raises the possibility that he would, indeed, let Paris rule out actions to defend America. When Democrats say that Bush spurns allies, nobody affects a tone of outrage and starts picking out quotes he has made about the value of allies. This is just normal political debate, with one party calling into question the assurances that the other is making. Democrats should count their blessings. Miller could have gone even further, noting that neither Kerry nor John Edwards could bring himself to acknowledge that our troops had accomplished anything in Afghanistan or Iraq. But it must be said that at some points the logic of Miller's speech wavered. He criticized Democrats for "mak[ing] national security a partisan campaign issue." But when the parties have different approaches to ensuring national security, it is only right that they take their cases to the people to decide which should prevail. President Bush should welcome such a contest. He comes off better in it, for reasons that Senator Miller spellbindingly elucidated.

■ On the opening night of the Republican convention in New York, three women shared their pride in the bravery and self-sacrifice of the loved ones they lost in the 9/11 attacks. The widow of one of the passengers who stormed the cockpit on United Airlines flight 93 said that serving in the military was one of the ways to honor their resolve, which was "the personification of courage and a testament to the American spirit." The sister of the former Navy pilot whose plane was crashed into the Pentagon declared, "I know that he and every one of those pilots put up the fight of their lives that day." She recalled being deeply moved by the huge American flag that was unfurled at the crash site. A fireman's widow shared the pride she felt for both her late husband and her oldest son, who is headed to Iraq with his Navy unit. Prime-time speakers echoed their determination to fight back. At the Democratic convention, in contrast, actress Glenn Close recalled our unified grief for those lost, expressed with vigils, flowers, and poems, and delegates lifted miniature flashlights in a flickering tribute to the victims of 9/11. Featured speakers then turned their attention to health-care reform and job creation. The contrast—between resolve and helpless mourning, between valor and victimhood—said much about the parties' differing attitudes toward 9/11.

■ When Arnold Schwarzenegger told Democrats and other pessimists not to be "economic girlie-men" on Tuesday night of the Republican convention, more Americans saw it on Fox News than on any other network. It was the first time Fox beat all of its broadcast competition in covering a major news event. On Wednesday, Fox led the pack again, drawing more viewers than CBS and ABC combined; and when President Bush delivered his speech on Thursday, over a million more Americans saw it on Fox than anywhere else. Some dismissed Fox's triumph during the convention as a reflection of its partisanship rather than its better coverage; an evidently bitter Dan Rather said Fox was just "preaching to the converted." So is Rather. It's no secret that Republicans have found more sympathetic coverage on Fox than on any other network, especially at a time when their party's nominee has been so besieged by the press. If the competition really wants to lure them back, it will have to try some new tactics—starting with balance.

■ The protests in New York during the Republican convention flopped, despite the impressive turnout at Sunday's mass perambulation. In their tolerant and open-minded way, organizers had promised to shut down the convention, to send the delegates home, to cause huge disruptions, and to occupy Central Park. None of these events transpired. The thousands of journalists reporting from New York hardly bothered, after Sunday's march, to cover the Left's antics, or their "street theater," or their "die-ins." That stuff is *so* Battle of Seattle 1999. Had the New York Police Department not adopted preemptive tactics to arrest suspected troublemakers en masse, deployed officers on nimble scooters and bikes, and kept anarchists off the streets by penning them well away from the convention—all the while keeping a sense of humor and giving directions to confused delegates from outta town—the city would have looked more like *Fort Apache,*

NOT LIKE KERRY'S

Bush didn't debark from a cruiser
As sheepish vets banged tambourines:
Some firemen threw him a party
The previous evening, in Queens.
From Laura came nary a "Shove it."
A bounce had already begun.
Dick landed a haymaker Wednesday,
Then George made him wobble. What fun!

—W. H. VON DREELE

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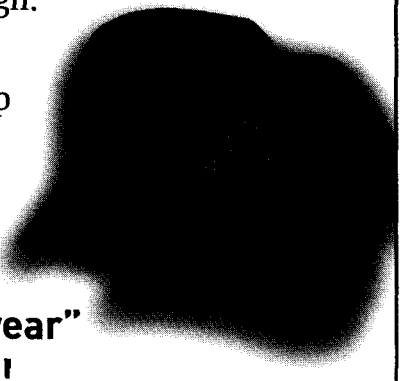

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The Bronx than *Miracle on 34th Street.* Kudos to the NYPD.

■ Andrew Sullivan thinks that the Republicans "presented a moderate face, while proposing the most hard-right platform ever put forward by a GOP convention." Perhaps he is referring to the platform's support for a constitutional amendment blocking same-sex marriage, and for the general principle that governments should not formally recognize sexual relationships other than marriage. Most people will not be shocked to learn that the Republican party officially takes these positions. On other issues, too, the platform reflects the conservatism of the party. If the delegates were writing the platform, indeed, the platform would have been further right. It would still call for the abolition of the Department of Education, as it did in 1996, before George W. Bush softened the platform. During this convention, the Bush forces beat back attempts to move the platform right on stem-cell research and other issues. The biggest disappointment in the platform proceedings was the discussion of immigration. The platform supports Bush's guest-worker policy while making meaningless rhetorical concessions to people worried about uncontrolled immigration. But it may be that this sort of sales job can work only in the very controlled environment of the platform committees. Bush is too smart to try to pitch his immigration plan on the campaign trail, and he ought to be wary about pushing it next year if he is re-elected. Here is an issue where a "hard right" platform would have been more in keeping with popular sentiment than Bush's own views.

■ The open-borders lobby likes to argue that illegal immigrants—through the economic value generated by their labor—

GREG WHITESELL/UPI

The Bush Wedge

GEORGE W. BUSH has become a wedge issue.

Let me back up. As we all know, a "wedge issue" is a campaign topic that works well for Republicans and poorly for Democrats. Yeah, sure, liberals have different definitions. They claim a wedge issue is one that needlessly divides Americans, pitting them against one another instead of uniting them. According to this worldview, a political issue that distracts voters from their economic self-interest (i.e., welfare-state entitlements) or from some ill-defined "unity" is a wedge issue.

So, if a Republican brings up guns, gays, God, abortion, the death penalty, flag-burning, the war, etc., he is cynically dividing the American people. But when Democrats talk about, say, the need for gun control or abortion rights, they're addressing "real issues, facing real Americans."

Or consider Vietnam. For nearly six months, almost every sentence John Kerry has uttered—including "Do I have spinach stuck in my teeth?" and "Does this windsurfing wetsuit make me look fat?"—has ended with a lecture about how he served in Vietnam. In his more recent remarks, he has pointed out that the president and Dick Cheney did *not* serve in Vietnam, and that therefore they have no right to question his commitment to defense. But when anyone (including other Vietnam vets) mentions Kerry's role as a war protester and slanderer of American troops—never mind his two decades of relentless dovishness in the Senate—he is immediately accused of trying to "reopen the wounds of Vietnam" and thus "dividing" Americans.

Of course this is all of a piece with the mainstream press's version of the last few Republican presidential victories. Republicans win on "illegitimate" issues—welfare queens, the Pledge of Allegiance, prison furloughs, Al Gore's "exaggerations," etc., while those poor Democrats struggle to unify America. Every time, the media swear they won't let the Republicans get away with it again.

Which is what I mean when I say Bush himself is now a wedge issue: Because he divides people, he's illegitimate somehow. That's why we hear so much about Kerry's lead on "the issues," while Bush is ahead merely on the vague and mildly vulgar category of "leadership."

Indeed, the race among the media to reveal Bush & Co. as dividers-not-uniters is going so fast, facts themselves are barely speed bumps. One small example: Shortly after Arnold Schwarzenegger's convention speech, Dan Rather raced to pronounce that Arnold "slapped . . . John Kerry around like a hockey puck." Yet Schwarzenegger never mentioned Kerry—not once.

Highbrow liberal journalists are so frustrated over Bush's successes that they've started lamenting the fact that Americans are too stupid to vote their class interests. Recent articles in *The New Yorker* and *The American Prospect*, and the new book *What's the Matter with Kansas?*, try to decipher why voters follow what one author calls "unenlightened self-interest" on such issues as, for example, the estate tax (two-thirds of Americans favor Bush's policy to repeal it, even though most will never directly benefit from it).

Of course, this is all hooey. In a democracy it is not the press's job to decide which issues or candidates are legitimate. The notion that only voting your class interest is "smart" is not just warmed-over Marxism—it denies the voter the opportunity to be guided by his principles. But most important is the fact that democracy is about disagreements, not agreements. Whenever I hear a liberal talk about the need for unity, what I hear is a liberal demanding unity around *his* proposals. Anything else is a "wedge issue."

—JONAH GOLDBERG

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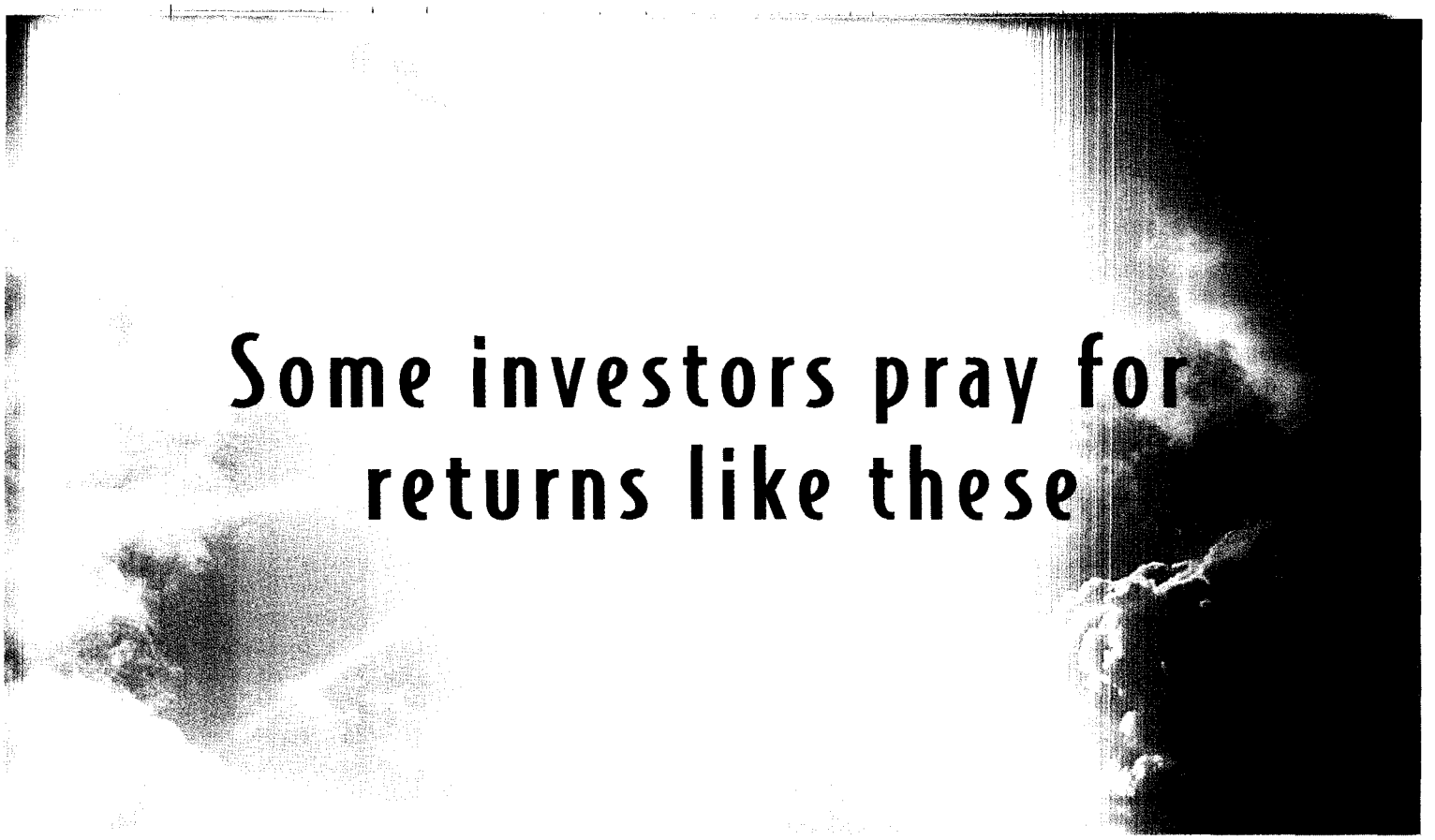

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add more to government coffers than they draw in services. A new report from the Center for Immigration Studies, however, just rendered that case nearly impossible to make. "The Costs of Illegal Immigration" demonstrates that illegal-alien households use an estimated $2,700 more per year in services than they contribute in taxes; in 2002, this burden sapped the federal budget to the tune of nearly $10.4 billion. The report also shows that amnesty is not the solution: Legalizing "undocumented workers," thereby giving them much greater access to federal services, would increase the yearly federal immigration deficit to $29 billion. All told, the report paints a dismal picture of the financial effects of illegal immigration. It also proves that while amnesty may appeal to certain segments of the electorate, it will not find favor among those who value the rule of law—and, now, economic sense.

■ The FBI has been investigating a Pentagon analyst (out of the oft-vilified Doug Feith's office) suspected of passing a draft policy directive on Iran to Israel through the pro-Israel lobbying group, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. If true, needless to say, this would be a serious matter, and anyone involved would and should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. But much dust has to settle before we have a clearer idea of the facts (previously hyped espionage cases from Wen Ho Lee to Captain James Yee turned out to be less than initially advertised). What has played in the press and the more fevered corners of the anti-Bush world as the neocon conspiracy to end all neocon conspiracies may prove another chapter in the bizarre intramural policy struggles within the Bush administration, where Defense officials are constantly committing the "crime" of attempting to implement the president's vision of the War on Terror.

■ The school-choice movement hasn't had much to cheer about this summer. Despite an important Supreme Court victory two years ago, state judges have struck down ambitious programs in Colorado and Florida and it is unclear whether or how they can be rescued. In the meantime, we can note with satisfaction that school choice at last is becoming a reality in the nation's capital, thanks to the Bush administration, Republican leaders in Congress, and D.C.'s Democratic mayor Anthony Williams. This fall, more than 1,000 poor students are taking advantage of vouchers worth as much as $7,500 in tuition. It may be a small start and there have been some bureaucratic snafus—but it's already a big hit with parents and it bodes well. Future administrations and Congresses will have a hard time ignoring a success story in their own backyard.

■ The world had not previously heard of Beslan. Now it will never forget this poor and forlorn town in the Caucasus. As with 9/11, the atrocity perpetrated there is an example of pure evil. What kind of people can these terrorists be to torture their captives over 48 hours? How is it possible that there were female terrorists who showed no mercy to little children? According to survivors, the terrorists claimed to be Muslims acting in the name of Allah and on behalf of the Chechen nation as well. What kind of God, what kind of nation, demands the sacrifice of innocents? Many of the victims were also Muslims. Unprepared for anything like this, the Russian authorities failed to grasp the enormity of the event. The consequences will be immense. Grief is already turning to anger, and this is the Caucasus, home of the blood feud. In a television broadcast, a somber President Putin admitted to weakness which he promises to redress. His position is fraught. A political approach to the Chechens is likely to look like weakness, while striking back hard carries the risk of driving more Chechens to yet more outrages. The War on Terror is spreading, and more and more it is becoming nothing less than a test of humanity.

■ Last month jihadists kidnapped two French journalists in Iraq, and threatened to murder them unless France rescinded a forthcoming ban on Muslim headscarves in public schools. French republicanism, unlike its older American cousin, has always demanded a public square stripped of all but its own symbols. Now France must decide if it will uphold a more recent tradition, accommodation with thugs. The kidnappers say they will release their victims for $5 million. France labored tirelessly to keep Saddam Hussein in power (and was well paid for its efforts). And yet Frenchmen are being treated like Nepalese workers, or Spanish commuters, or American soldiers. Some principles need a second look, *non*?

■ The Internet, which some thought would liberate and modernize the world, seems to be (also?) a very effective tool for spreading poisonous, anti-human ideas and ideologies. Most recent case: Radical Islamists, apparently based in Saudi Arabia, have established an Internet magazine targeted at women. The aim of the magazine, according to its mission statement, is to show women how to reconcile the apparent contradiction of fighting jihad while maintaining family life. Among the uplifting sentiments on offer in the founding issue was this one: "The blood of our husbands and the body parts of our children are our sacrificial offering." Nice. Not, mind you, that jihadist womenfolk should get ideas above their station. There is much in the magazine about overcoming the innate weaknesses of the fairer sex. There is also a tirade against women presenters on Saudi TV, suggesting that such women are practicing a kind of prostitution. It's almost enough to make you think kindly of Western feminists.

■ Always at the cutting edge of social developments, those pale, smug Scandinavians have come up with the perfect alternative to cigarette smoking: snus. That's right, snus. Snus is a snuff-like powder made from tobacco, sealed in a hygienic pouch like a tiny tea bag. You insert it under your upper lip. As with chewing tobacco in the U.S., snus was once favored only by working-class males. With widespread bans on smoking, though, snus usage has moved up the social scale, with sales in Norway rising 15 percent last year and about one in ten young male Norwegians now confirmed snus-users. To assist their product's social ascent, snus makers have modernized and sanitized their product, flavoring it with cranberry, orange, or mint, and marketing it in feminine-looking white or pink cans. (No doubt prompting more traditional-minded users to repine: "Where are

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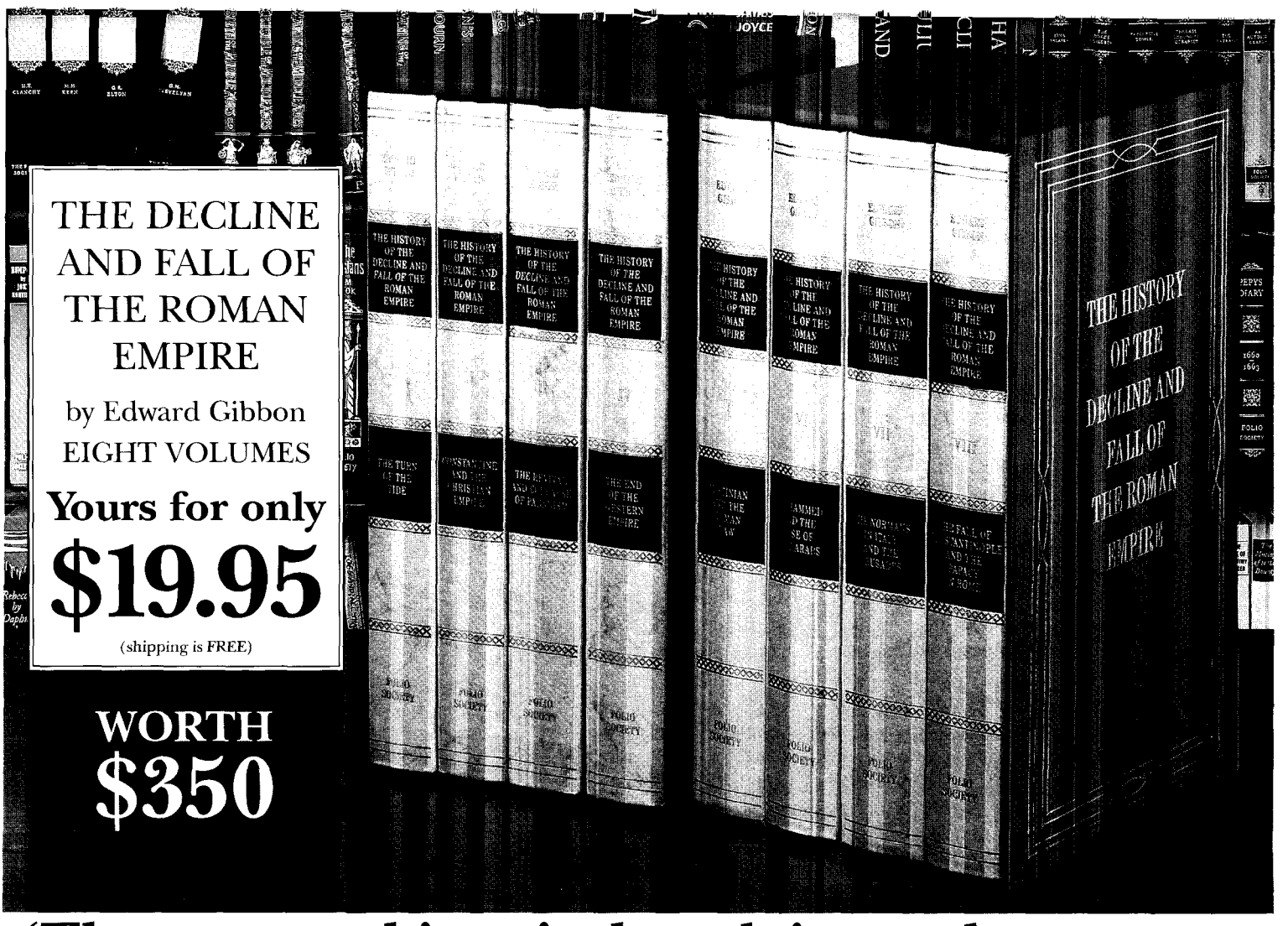

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the snus of yesteryear?") Well, as far as we are concerned, no snus is good snus; but with smoking bans spreading in the U.S., our own tobacco firms had better get moving with some similar product before the Scandinavians corner the market. As they say in Örnsköldsvik and Lillehammer: You snus, you lose.

■ Most of what is left of the human body after funerary cremation consists of carbon ash. Now carbon, as every schoolchild knows, occurs in many forms, one of which is diamond. Seeing an entrepreneurial opening here, an Illinois firm named LifeGem is now offering a service to turn the Loved One into a sparkling one. For a fee—their top-of-the-line three-quarter-carat rock goes for about $10,000—LifeGem will transform the departed into precious stones, tinted according to taste. A single cremated cadaver can generate up to 100 high-quality jewels. Everybody knows, of course, that diamonds are a girl's best friend. Now, apparently, a girl's best friend—or spouse, parent, or pet—can be diamonds.

■ In old Tibet, medicinal pellets made from the Dalai Lama's stools were regarded as highly efficacious and were much sought after by the devout. Modern American celebrity-worship has not yet gone quite that far, but the day can't be far away. Most recently we hear that gum that has been chewed by the pop singer Britney Spears can be purchased on the Internet auction site eBay, with winning bids as high as $100 for a single properly authenticated wad. Shameful to relate, there have been some attempts at forgery. One seller offers an item of Ms. Spears's ejecta—"still has her teeth marks in it"—from the 2004 MTV Video Music Awards, an event the lady did not attend. Hard to imagine anyone would stoop so low.

CAMPAIGN 2004

Strong to the Finish

PRESIDENT BUSH ended an extraordinarily successful convention with a powerful and effective speech. By this we do not mean only, or even primarily, that he got a big boost in the polls—although he appears to have done so, and to have thereby sent John Kerry's campaign into a panic. What is more important is that the convention and the speech laid the foundations for a winning campaign this fall.

Bush both built on his strengths and addressed his weaknesses. Voters concerned about his "swagger" heard him make a self-deprecating joke ("in Texas [it's] called 'walking'"): To joke about that political problem is already to diminish it. Voters concerned that his foreign policy is merely an expression of that swagger heard him make a cogent case for it. And he outlined a very promising domestic-policy agenda, as Ramesh Ponnuru explains (p. 35). On Social Security and on health care, Bush has advanced the first proposals in two decades that would both expand the Republican base and advance conservative principles.

The president will need to repeat, and provide details about, his agenda for the next term. Kerry will no doubt attack Social Security reform, and Bush will need to answer him, mobilizing young voters who stand to gain, while assuaging older voters that they would not lose, from it. Only by having this discussion will Bush be able to build a mandate for reform next year.

Congressional Republicans should back Bush on Social Security. They should also exploit this moment of Democratic fear to enact other needed reforms. A number of bills to make it easier for law enforcement to fight terrorism are floating around Congress. They should be put together. Democrats may go along. If they do not, Republicans will have another campaign issue, neatly gift-wrapped.

Above all, Republicans need to avoid complacency. As far as we know now, the country is still quite evenly divided between the parties. The opposition to Bush remains very intense. Celebrations of the president's victory should wait until he makes it happen.

THE REPUBLICANS

The Moderates' Hour

THE prominence of moderates at the Republican convention gave rise to two different lines of commentary. The first held that the party was disguising its true nature by suppressing conservatives, the second that moderates were a rising force in the party and could capture the presidential nomination in 2008. The tone with which these things were said depended on whether the commentator was a conservative or a liberal.

But a quick look at the moderates who were featured at the convention or discussed as contenders for 2008 shows that they do not make up a bloc within the Republican party, let alone a powerful one. The issues on which they are out of step with the Republican mainstream vary from person to person. Mitt Romney has been pro-choice on abortion, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Rudy Giuliani are liberal on social issues generally, John McCain has been moving leftward on economic issues, George Pataki has taken liberal positions on all of the above, and Chuck Hagel has been less hawkish than most Republicans.

This collection of views is not evidence of a rift within the Republican party. It is evidence that the party is a coalition all of whose members do not agree on all issues—which is what one would expect given that America has two major parties and 300 million people. Republicans must appeal to people who want tax cuts and a war against terrorism but favor legal abortion. They must also appeal to people who are pro-life but favor national health care.

There is a broad Republican consensus on the social issues, and it was not disguised at the convention. Everyone who alluded to abortion was pro-life, and everyone who alluded to same-sex marriage was against it. There is, of course, dissent on these issues. But the pro-choice wing of the party is much weaker than it was only eight years ago. In 1996, Governors Pete Wilson, William Weld, and Christine Todd Whitman sought to change the party's pro-life platform. No such attempt was made this year. Weld and Whitman supported partial-birth abortion and saw

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their careers limited by it. Most of today's major pro-choice Republican politicians would ban partial-birth abortion. None of them, judging from the convention speeches, thinks it wise to build a career on attempts to change the party's position. They may care about "abortion rights," but they appear to care about other issues, such as the war on terrorism, more. Otherwise they would be Democrats.

George Will has suggested that we are witnessing a revival of "Goldwater Republicanism," combining the government-cutting of his 1964 campaign with the social liberalism of his later days. Alas, no Republican politician since 1964 has been as consistently anti-statist as Goldwater was, and this crop of moderates is slightly to the left of the party's center on the role of government. Schwarzenegger is an environmentalist. Giuliani left the high taxes and bureaucracy of New York City largely alone. McCain crusades against pork—a small portion of the federal budget—but is often a proponent of sweeping federal regulations.

All of these moderates have real political talents, and accomplishments. Several of them could make creditable runs for the nomination in 2008. At the same time, so many of them are running that a candidate who agrees with his party's mainstream on the full range of issues would also have a very good shot. And since polls regularly find that a majority of the American public thinks that abortion should be banned with exceptions for rape, incest, and life, pro-lifers will reasonably expect a Republican nominee who agrees not only with his party but with that public. Under the circumstances, the party's "moderate" hopefuls would be well advised to moderate their moderation.

THE DEMOCRATS

1971: The Real Record

KERRY and at least some of his defenders in the press have begun gingerly addressing the *substance* of the charge that in 1971 he unjustly accused his Vietnam "band of brothers" of being war criminals. They have taken several tacks.

First, they have defended Kerry's comments in 1971 by claiming that far from betraying and dishonoring Vietnam veterans by accusing them of having committed atrocities and war crimes on a regular basis, he was merely recounting what others had said. But although he did take his examples of atrocities from veterans who took part in the so-called Winter Soldier Investigation (WSI) earlier that year, his preface signaled his agreement with its broad indictment:

> I would like to talk, representing all those veterans, and say that several months ago in Detroit, we had an investigation at which over 150 honorably discharged and many very highly decorated veterans testified to war crimes committed in Southeast Asia, *not isolated incidents but crimes committed on a day-to-day basis with the full awareness of officers at all levels of command* (emphasis added).

After this warm-up, the rest of Kerry's testimony was shot through with the notion that the U.S. was waging an illegal, immoral war, betraying its principles and the men (turned into "monsters") forced to commit its crimes.

Kerry defenders also have claimed that his atrocity charges for the most part were true. In *The New Republic*, Peter Beinart cites journalists and scholars who claim, *mirabile dictu*, that Americans did indeed commit atrocities in Vietnam. As part of this argument, they contend that the WSI has *not* largely been discredited.

Yet Kerry's critics have never denied that atrocities occurred. As I wrote in "But Was it True?" (NATIONAL REVIEW, Feb. 23),

> Atrocities did occur in Vietnam, as they have in all wars; the most notorious was the 1968 My Lai massacre, in which hundreds of civilians were killed. But despite the accepted image of the Vietnam War as particularly brutal, atrocities were fairly infrequent. Between 1965 and 1973, 201 soldiers and 77 Marines were convicted of serious crimes against the Vietnamese. (Needless to say, the fact that many crimes, in war as in peace, go unreported, combined with the particular difficulties encountered by Americans fighting in Vietnam, suggest that more such acts were committed than reported.)

As for the WSI, the question of its credibility was first raised by Guenter Lewy in his book, *America in Vietnam*. Lewy wrote that when the Naval Investigative Service (NIS) attempted to interview those who allegedly had witnessed atrocities, most refused to cooperate, even after assurances that they would not be questioned about atrocities they committed personally. Those who did cooperate never provided details of actual crimes. The NIS also discovered that some of the most grisly testimony was given by fake witnesses who had appropriated the names of real Vietnam veterans. The same thing happened to Army investigators.

Were the WSI accounts true? Lewy notwithstanding, most Vietnam veterans believe that they don't pass the smell test. But there is a way to find out. An enterprising reporter should do what Jug Burkett and Glenna Whitley did in writing their indispensable book, *Stolen Valor*, which uncovered 1,500 Vietnam fabricators: Get the name and service number of every one who testified before the various "tribunals" and at the Winter Soldiers event; use the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to gain access to their real records; and then check to see if those individuals were in a position to have committed or witnessed atrocities.

Anti-Kerry veterans do not argue that he had no right to speak out on the war. Nor do they deny that atrocities occurred in Vietnam. James Webb got to the heart of the matter for these veterans in a *National Public Radio* commentary recently: "Stories of atrocious conduct, repeated in lurid detail by Kerry before the Congress, represented not the typical experience of the American soldier, but its ugly extreme. That the articulate, urbane Kerry would validate such allegations helped to make life hell for many Vietnam veterans, for a very long time." For that, John Kerry owes his "band of brothers" a retraction and an apology, still.

—MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

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notes & asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I read in the newspaper today that you are retiring. I wish you a long and happy retirement and would like to offer a little testimony to the resilience of your words.

Let me mention that I doubt that, try as we might, you and I could ever agree on more than six ideas. I grew up in a very Republican family, but in 1956 I tuned in our newly acquired TV to the political conventions, formed a strong dislike for Richard Nixon, and announced for Adlai. I was too young, at 13, to be thrown out of the house and therefore survived to become an unapologetic liberal.

During the Watergate era, I was bowled over by the language in one of your columns and cut out a section to carry in my wallet. It eventually yellowed and I sealed it up in clear mailing tape. It has been in my wallet for over 30 years and has survived some interesting times. When my house burned to the ground in 1989, one little built-in cabinet by the back door survived with my purse in it. The clipping is therefore one of my oldest possessions. Last year, my wallet was stolen from the choir room of the local Episcopal cathedral. It turned up in a trash can across town the next day, so I got the clipping back. I'm enclosing a copy of it:

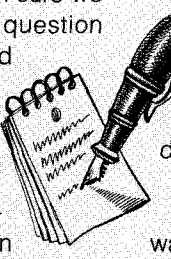
> The rhetoric apart, I thought the speech mortally flawed by low analytical cunning. Mr. Nixon sought to construct an august scaffolding for himself, whence to preside over the restoration of the public rectitude. He produced a spindle, on which he impaled himself. The structure of the speech compresses into a single sentence: *"Although it is clearly unreasonable that I as president—laboring full-time to bring peace to our generation and to combat inflation and to make it safe to walk the streets at night—should be held responsible for the excesses and minor illegalities of the entire executive and political staffs, nevertheless, because I am that kind of man, I do accept responsibility, and I commence my discharge of it here tonight by firing two innocent men."*

Sincerely,
Judy Keim
West Chester, Ohio

Dear Ms. Keim: Well, I'm glad the quote—written when President Nixon announced his firing of aides Ehrlichman and Haldeman—survived fire and ashes. If you promise to convert, I'll compose another imperishable quote for you!

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I write to you for several reasons, among them to convey my congratulations on your retirement from active participation in the direction of National Review. . . . But now to the main point of this letter, the definitive answer to what I'm sure we can agree is the burning question of our time: Who promoted Peress? Like Pilate's "What is truth?" it has been asked many times, and never answered. But by a near-miraculous coincidence, I am now in a position to answer it. A few years ago I attended the 50th-anniversary reunion in New York of my Bronx High School of Science graduating class (among my classmates are William Safire and Harold Bloom), and there encountered a fellow named Herman Geller. He told me how grateful he was to me for having introduced him to the poetry of Yeats, and I had to agree that if I had done him that service, he was indeed deeply in my debt. It turned out, much to our surprise and delight, that we were now practically neighbors—I live in Oakland, and he in Walnut Creek, only 30 minutes apart—and as a result we have visited each other regularly after returning to California. Hy is the perfect liberal politically, and I realized that serious political discussions with him were quite pointless, so I restricted my political comments during our meetings to occasional good-humored digs when some liberal had done or said something egregiously silly. On one such occasion I thought I'd provoke him by suggesting that the burning question of our time was the one about Peress—and to my astonishment, he told me, with complete seriousness, that he was the one most responsible for that promotion.



He had served during his two years in the U.S. Army in counterintelligence, and his duties included vetting the records of officers due for promotion. When the Peress promotion papers arrived on his desk, he noted immediately from the background investigation that Peress's politics were far to the left, but saw no reason to object to his promotion to major; he was, after all, a dentist, and hardly in a position to engage in subversive activities even if he wanted to; in addition, he was slated for discharge soon—the bump in rank was in the nature of a tombstone promotion, and to refuse it would be to simply slap Peress in the face when he'd done nothing wrong. In the deepest sense, of course, no person "promoted Peress"; His promotion was a routine consequence of normal Army policy about time-in-grade. But if any individual can be said to bear responsibility for it, it would be my old classmate and new friend Hy Geller. I think there's a deep lesson there for all conservatives on our relations with liberals: We introduce them to Yeats, and they thank us by promoting Peress!

Sincerely yours,
Mark Halpern
Oakland, Calif.

Dear Mr. Halpern: There are those who made the Peress story a center of concern! Thanks for straightening it out.

Cordially,

—WFB

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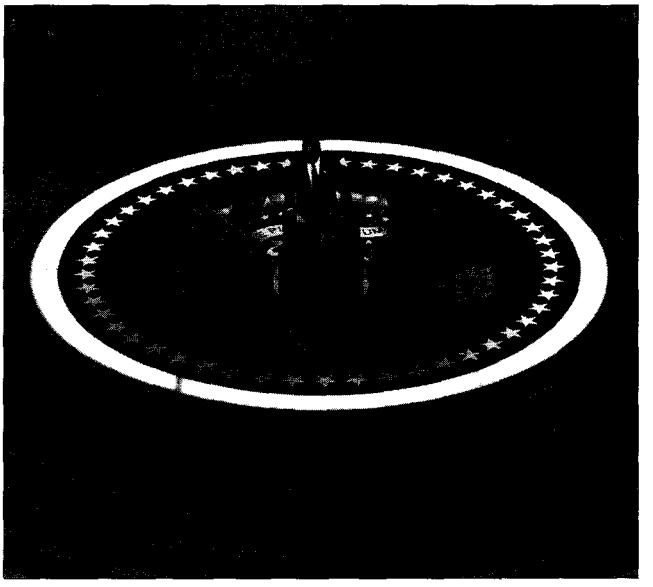

■ CAMPAIGN 2004 ■

Tall Order

Are Americans up for Bush's foreign policy?

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

PRESIDENT BUSH 41 was briefly notorious for his amiable dismissal of "the vision thing." If his son's acceptance speech proves an accurate guide to Bush 43's second term, "the vision thing" will actually dominate policy—at least in foreign affairs.

The speech split more or less neatly in two. There was a slightly pedestrian list of the president's domestic aims and accomplishments followed by nobly soaring passages in which he outlined a bold foreign policy based on spreading the blessings of liberty, principally to the Middle East but in principle to wherever men labor under tyranny. Even if one disagreed with this argument or was skeptical of its practicality, one could not withhold admiration for the eloquence with which it was expressed or the sincerity that plainly inspired it.

As someone remarked, however, we campaign in poetry and govern in prose. How will this soaring Wilsonian poetry translate into prosaic policy? And will the American people sustain the historic burden that the president called on them to bear? Bush made one rhetorical concession to his critics: In contrast to earlier speeches on this theme, he now spoke of "liberty" and its blessings rather than of "democracy" as such. As an old speechwriter I am perhaps making too much of this linguistic shading, but it could conceivably have significant practical consequences.

If promoting democracy is U.S. policy, then we become adversaries of those states—Jordan, for instance—that are relatively liberal autocracies and U.S. allies. Friendly encouragement to move in a democratic direction, however, is perfectly compatible with a policy of extending the blessings of liberty. It is also the approach that dovetails best with American interests in the region. Leaning on the Saudis to liberalize their semi-totalitarian society similarly makes better sense than to urge a premature democratization likely to produce an extreme fundamentalist anti-American government. As a general rule, indeed, extending liberty is less likely to threaten stability and bring Islamofascists to power than directly promoting democracy.

If stressing liberty rather than democracy accords with both political theory and practical reality, however, neither policy is an easy sell in the Middle East. Unfortunately, the president and his supporters make the selling appear easier than it is. On earlier occasions, for instance, Bush has dismissed critics of democratization as suggesting that Arabs and Muslims are somehow genetically incapable of self-government. That is an unworthy argument, since few skeptics say anything of the sort and almost all would reject it out of hand.

Skepticism rests, rather, on universal principles: Democracy is hard to establish in *any* country where there is ethnic or religious conflict, a low per capita income, no middle class of any size, no tradition of free speech or a free press, and no economic sector independent of the state. Such preconditions are not absolute prohibitions—India survives as a democratic society despite a low per capita income—but they are a reasonable cautionary guide. Unfortunately, few Middle Eastern societies fulfill all these criteria, and some fulfill none at all. Iraq in particular is ethnically and religiously divided and has a very limited tradition of free speech. Democracy is not an impossible plant there—see below—but it is not a natural growth either, in the present climate.

What of liberty? Bush is entirely right to say that men everywhere prize liberty. No one likes taking orders he cannot question. But it is also true that men almost everywhere prize something else above and beyond liberty. In the case of the Islamic world, very large numbers of Muslims prize what they believe to be authentic Islam above liberty. They believe the Koran to be the literal voice of God and so they think that men should not be free to make decisions that run counter to the Koran or to sharia law. And because they see in the Western world plentiful evidence that democratic states make decisions contrary to the Word of God more or less continually, they reject democracy as an organized impiety.

Lest anyone think this is cultural condescension and only a modest im-

STEVE DESLICH/KRT

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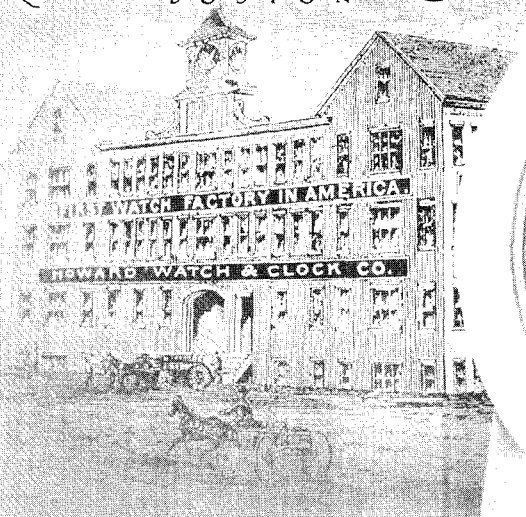

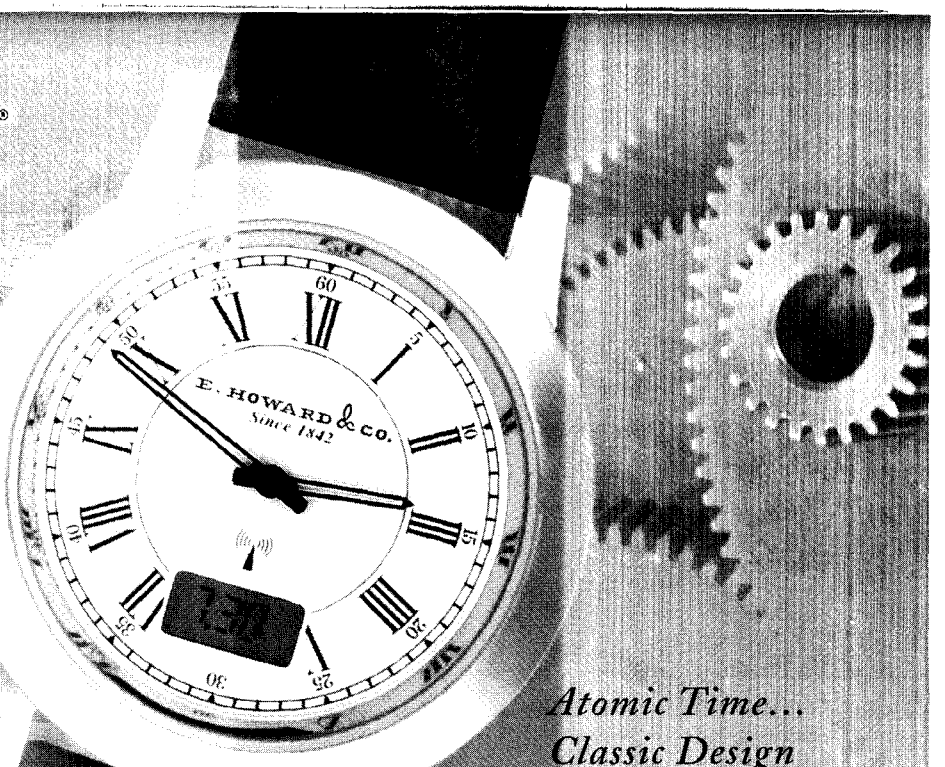

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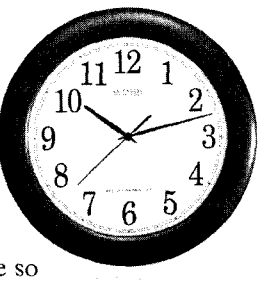

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provement on the ethnic contempt disavowed above, let me point out that large numbers of the most educated people in the Western world believed until recently that democracy should be subordinated to the will of History, which—history being no more than other people at a different date—is a great deal more foolish than subordinating democracy to the Word of God. In earlier times—not much earlier either—Western Europeans also subordinated democracy and liberty to what they believed to be the Word of God. It took a great deal of time, history, and bloodshed before they agreed to pursue their different interpretations of God's word independently and peacefully and to reconcile any disputes under democratic laws that all could accept because all had participated in passing them. Liberty and democracy are both educational projects: We learn by our mistakes.

Bush is embarking on a project that will require, say, 60 years of tutorship.

If bloodshed is to be avoided, the Middle East must learn liberty and democracy under a suitable tutor, in conditions that prevent its different tribes and sects from fighting to impose their own beliefs on one another. This is presumably the president's democracy project. It is based (though not admittedly) on the insight of Seymour Martin Lipset that countries that had been colonized by the British were more likely to be democracies than those colonized by others. The Bush plan does not require the U.S. to be (as the British Empire had been) the sovereign power in the region. It merely needs to exercise enough power to ensure that liberty gradually advances in these societies under more or less friendly regimes. But there is a second half to this insight: The longer countries had been British colonies, the more likely they were to be democratic. Bush is embarking on a project that will require, say, 60 years of tutorship.

He is therefore asking the American people to bear a very significant burden. In doing so he risks running up against historically strong currents in American opinion—isolationist and anti-imperialist currents that draw support from the right as well as the left. For his commitment to a decades-long struggle to foster democracy in the Middle East, even if it rests on sovereign independent governments rather than on colonies, is still an exercise in liberal imperialism. (Perhaps the term should be liberal neo-imperialism; pun intended but not the whole point.)

That is not a political outlook with deep roots in American history—but it is one that makes considerable demands on a society. As Max Boot has argued, it would require some novel American version of the British Colonial Office with its own cadres of technical experts, soldiers, and political advisers to develop and standardize the techniques of nation-building, civil construction, training in democratic governance, and assistance to the civil power. Such a body is needed so that each exercise in extending liberty to another nation does not repeatedly surprise us with the same problems. Some of this stored experience already exists in institutions such as the National Endowment for Democracy, but these are modest organizations compared to the magnitude of the likely tasks. A U.S. Colonial Office—call it the Democracy Department—would have to be supplemented, moreover, by considerable private-sector investment in the skills that a democratic neo-imperialism needs. That means not just the expansion of military "outsourcing" organizations such as Halliburton but also new schools at Harvard and Stanford specializing in the language, culture, and history of the recipient societies, and even the general adoption of a new social outlook by Americans. A career spent in Baghdad or the Gulf would need to carry as much prestige as, if less income than, one on Wall Street or in Sullivan and Cromwell.

To maintain support for such an ambitious long-term program—a program comparable in scope to containing Communism but more subtle and operating in more alien territory—the U.S. would have to conduct some of its operations both under the auspices of transnational bodies and in collaboration with NGOs. That would produce tensions and disputes even if these bodies shared the same broad outlook as the U.S. government and hadn't already been captured, in large measure, by liberal and radical activists. These groups generally see themselves as the vanguard of *opposition* to the U.S., on behalf of the Third World and "marginalized" groups within the West. Their very definition of democracy, indeed, differs from liberal constitutional democracy as it is lived in America and Britain; John Fonte of the Hudson Institute calls it "post-democracy," an ideology based on such concepts as multiculturalism and race and gender quotas. The Community of Democracies, established mainly by the U.S. under the Clinton administration, held a conference of NGOs at Seoul in 2002 that proposed, inter alia, public financing of political parties and gender quotas to ensure that women were elected in proportion to their numbers in the population. Even at this early stage of the democracy project the U.S. State Department is uncomfortably sharing a bed with these NGOs that regard President Bush and his ideas of spreading the blessings of liberty with ill-disguised disdain.

Once the U.S. government commits itself to a major project, however, it brings to bear enormous human and economic resources. It may therefore be able to shape any transnational project to advance democracy in its own libertarian direction. It would thus become a program to extend the blessings of American liberty, rather than one to impose the European Union's vision of demo-bureaucracy. Even then, however, the president would still be asking Americans to join him in a formidable historical endeavor. Do they really want to go down such a potentially rocky road?

Mickey Kaus, the moderate-liberal commentator, argued against me in a recent radio debate that Kerry's last chance was to convince the voters that Bush was offering them more history than they wanted to consume. If Iraq continues to fester—and in particular, if it begins to look like the unwinnable quagmire that liberals have always secretly believed it to be—then Kaus could be right. Americans might reject the democracy project because they lack the neo-imperial mindset that it requires. If they don't reject it, however, they are volunteering to "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Better luck this time. **NR**

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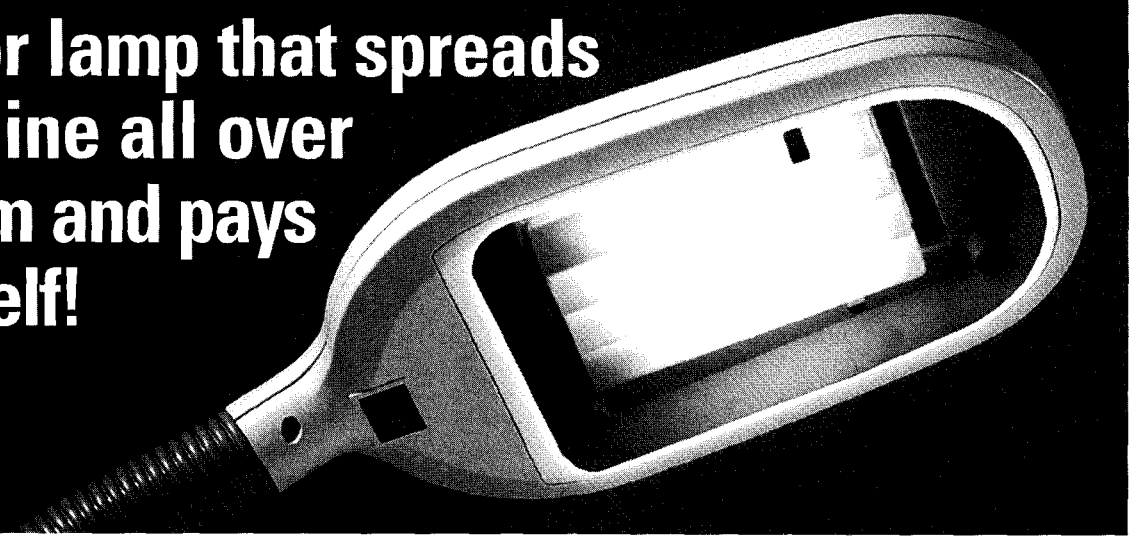

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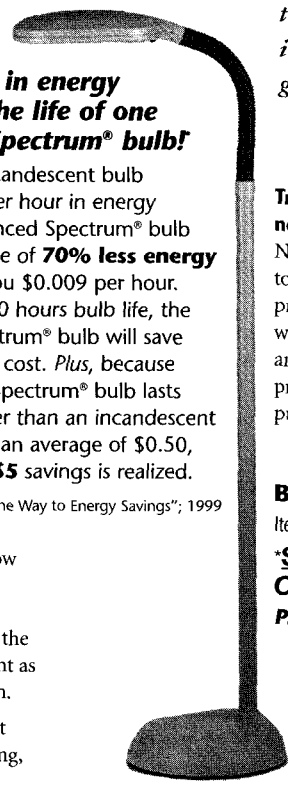
*Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999



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■ **CAMPAIGN 2004 II**

Zell's Zeal

A Democrat fires up the GOP—and the media

JOHN J. MILLER

If John Kerry loses the presidential election this year, history may explain his defeat with a single word: "spitballs."

That's how Senator Zell Miller, delivering the keynote address at the GOP convention on September 1, summarized Kerry's voting record on national security. After ticking off a long list of defense programs that Kerry has opposed—the B-1 bomber, the B-2 bomber, the F-14A Tomcat, the Apache helicopter, and so on—Miller delivered the fatal blow. "This is the man who wants to be the commander-in-chief of our U.S. Armed Forces?" he asked. "U.S. forces armed with what? *Spitballs*?"

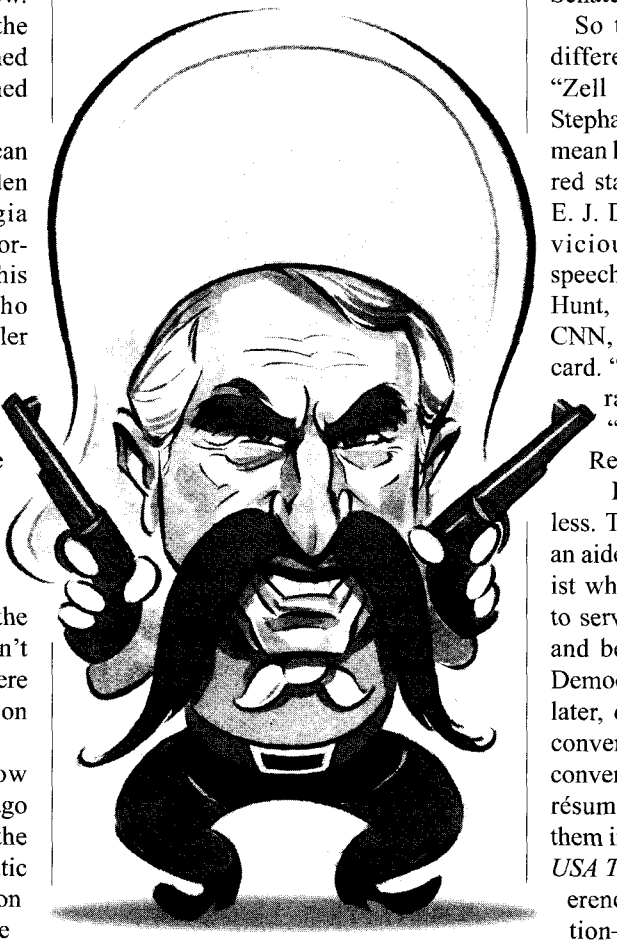
Upon hearing this zinger, Republican delegates in Madison Square Garden roared their approval. The Georgia Democrat's remarks went over so favorably inside the hall that much of his speech was inaudible to those who weren't listening to a broadcast. Miller would be well into his next point before the cheering died down and his voice rose above the din. "I kept stepping on my applause lines because I didn't want to go into Cheney's time," he explained the next day.

Vice President Cheney had the responsibility—or some might say the misfortune—of following Miller to the podium. His first words, which weren't written into his prepared remarks, were his best: "I'm sure glad Zell Miller's on our side."

Many liberals know exactly how Cheney feels, because a dozen years ago Miller was on their side, giving the keynote address at the 1992 Democratic convention that nominated Bill Clinton for president. Miller's performance back then was full of the sharp jabs and homespun wit that have made him one of Washington's most colorful people to interview.

"If the 'education president' gets another term," said then-Governor Miller, "even our kids won't be able to spell 'potato.'" His remarks also included a memorable refrain: "George Bush does not get it!" The man from Georgia's hill country was possibly even harder on Reform-party candidate Ross Perot. "He says he's an outsider who will shake up the system in Washington," noted Miller. "Sounds to me like instead of shaking the system up, Mr. Perot has been shaking it down." Miller concluded his comments with a line that neatly encapsulated the choice voters were facing, at least from the perspective of a Clinton backer: "We've got us a race between an aristocrat, an autocrat, and a Democrat."

Miller's address that year won rave reviews from partisans in and outside of the media. "I thought Zell Miller was brilliant," cooed Al Hunt on CNN. The Democrats' opening-night lineup of Bill Bradley, former Texas congresswoman Barbara Jordan, and Miller, he said, formed "a pretty attractive picture." *Washington Post* columnist Mary McGrory laughed at the "good poke" Miller took at Perot. Walter Goodman of the *New York Times* delighted in all of Miller's "snappy cracks." When someone suggested that Miller had played a little fast and loose with the facts, Clinton campaign spokesman George Stephanopoulos assured everyone that the speech was "just a matter of clarifying the record." ABC News agreed, calling Miller's address part of "the time-honored tradition of attacking the opposition."



DARREN GYGI

Since then, the 72-year-old Miller has zigzagged rightward. Although he has refused all Republican overtures to switch parties—"I'm going to die a Democrat," he says constantly—he was an early supporter of tax cuts and a vocal critic of colleagues who tried to block Bush's judicial appointments. And since September 11, he has been one of the White House's most loyal allies in the Senate.

So this time around, liberals had a different opinion of Miller's keynote. "Zell Miller was on a tirade," barked Stephanopoulos, now of ABC News. "I mean he was red-faced—red meat for the red states." *Washington Post* columnist E. J. Dionne called it "one of the most vicious and demagogic convention speeches in the television age." And Al Hunt, still occupying a pundit's chair on CNN, found it necessary to play the race card. "He was passionate when he was a racist 30 years [ago]," said Hunt. "And now he's passionate as a Republican."

Hunt's swipe was especially ruthless. To be sure, Miller once worked as an aide to Lester Maddox, a segregationist who achieved notoriety for refusing to serve blacks in his Atlanta restaurant and became governor of Georgia as a Democrat in 1967. Yet a quarter-century later, during Clinton's first nominating convention, these ties to Maddox were conveniently whitewashed from Miller's résumé. Hunt certainly didn't mention them in 1992. Only the Associated Press, *USA Today*, and *Newsday* made any reference to the Miller-Maddox connection—and the Associated Press went

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This Investment Launched the World's Largest Family Fortune—And Could Return 665% in the Next 12 Months

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My name is George Rayburn. I am Dr. Sjuggerud's Publisher.

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Dr. Steve Sjuggerud PhD

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on to announce Miller's redemption as "one of the South's most progressive state leaders." When Miller was praising Clinton, almost nobody in the media wanted to question his moral fitness.

This year, however, Miller's links to Maddox were highlighted at virtually every opportunity. "I was reminded that Zell Miller began his career by working for Lester Maddox, a man of hate," said David Gergen on CNN. Fox News commentator Susan Estrich and MSNBC's Chris Matthews read from the same talking points.

It would seem that liberals are able to forgive many sins, including the sin of associating with racists decades ago. The one transgression they simply can't abide, however, is a Democrat's announcing publicly that he will vote for a Republican for the first time in his life. "Last night Miller declared war on democracy," inveighed Jonathan Cohn of *The New Republic*, in one of the typical—and typically over-the-top—reactions to Miller's keynote.

The speech was indeed remarkable: a stem-winding performance full of righteous anger that seemed out of place in our sentimental culture of Oprah sob-fests and hamster-rescue stories. "Our nation is being torn apart and made weaker because of the Democrats' manic obsession to bring down our commander-in-chief," said Miller, who also praised Bush for owning "a spine of tempered steel." The same thing might be said of the senator, both for his gutsy rhetoric and his manner of speaking. Throughout his address, Miller stood ramrod straight, with his arms barely inching from his sides. The former Marine looked like he was reporting for duty (to borrow a phrase). And although Miller often flashes a lively grin in casual conversation, onstage he conveyed no sense of levity as he catalogued the shortcomings of his party in general and its presidential nominee in particular. The guy has a world-class scowl, and he wasn't afraid to show it.

Even some Republicans have thought Miller's speech too hot for prime time—and that the GOP's celebrated big tent seemed more like a revival tent when this fire and brimstone rained down from the podium. This is a fair criticism, and it is possible that Miller might have been more effective delivering essentially the same words with the avuncular style he has cultivated over the years. Couldn't he at least have laughed at his own jokes?

Whatever its strengths and weaknesses, Miller's performance did not take Bush campaign officials by surprise. For one thing, they saw the text of the speech beforehand. Miller does much of his own writing—he is the author of several books, including his recent bestseller *A National Party No More* and an untitled follow-up due to appear early next year. But he also worked with a handful of GOP wordsmiths to hone his message. Several lines were deleted from his draft and a few more were added to create the final version. Miller has also been delivering a rendition of it for some time. "I heard him give a similar speech to Bush-Cheney volunteers in Columbus, Ga., last May," says GOP strategist Ralph Reed.

Miller's speech was indeed remarkable: a stem-winding performance full of righteous anger that seemed out of place in our sentimental culture.

Moreover, Bush officials had studied Miller's speech from 1992; although he gestured with his hands a bit more, he hardly smiled back then, either. It seems that when Miller gives a big political speech, righteous anger is his M.O. But when he does it at a GOP convention, flabbergasted outrage is the entirely predictable response from Democrats and their media helpers.

At least Miller is ready for the blowback. In a testy post-speech interview, Chris Matthews could not hide his exasperation. "Do you believe, Senator, truthfully, that John Kerry wants to defend the country with spitballs?" he asked. "That was a metaphor," snapped Miller. "Do you know what a metaphor is?"

Dick Cheney was right: It sure is nice to have Zell Miller on our side. And that's the literal truth. **NR**

■ **CAMPAIGN 2004 III**

No Fair!

The Democrats' constant campaign plaint

DAVID FRUM

A FEW weeks ago, the *Washington Post* Style section profiled a new book with the couldn't-be-clearer title *He's Just Not That Into You*. The book offered its female target market a revolutionary new insight: If a man does not pursue a woman, it's because . . . he doesn't like her very much. When the author first explained his theory to his female friends in Los Angeles, they were thunderstruck: "It was like we were all punched in the stomach."

Male readers of the Style section must have wondered: Can half the human race really be so deluded about the fundamental facts of life? But that question is unfair. After all, a very great many of those male readers are national Democrats—and they share exactly the same blindness as those Californian women.

If their candidate is trailing in the polls, as John Kerry is trailing now, they will try a million excuses before considering the possibility that the problem is . . . their candidate. He's got so much going for him! He's smart, he's handsome, he has medals: How could the voters not immediately fall in love?

Of all the roster of excuses Democrats invoke to explain why the voters suddenly go cold ("Maybe they have lost our phone number? Maybe they have commitment issues?") the absolute favorite is the excuse we have begun to hear this summer and fall: Their wonderful fella has fallen victim to Lee Atwater-style Republican dirty tricks.

In a September 1 syndicated column, former Dukakis campaign manager Susan Estrich explained how Michael Dukakis lost the 1988 election because of an Atwater-directed smear campaign: "We lost six points," she recalls, because Atwater deceived the voters into thinking that Dukakis had once suffered from depression.

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Professor David Zarefsky's lectures are filled with examples of actual controversies, but his perspective takes us beyond individual disputes so we can see the structure of all disputes. This perspective orients us within any argument, so argumentation can be seen clearly as an exchange, and not just a flurry of words.

What You'll Learn

The lectures reveal several striking facts that can make argumentation accessible and familiar to you.

- First, the tools of formal logic, while essential and even definitive for mathematics and programming computers, are inadequate to decide most controversial issues. For example, the "ideal" of deductive reasoning, the syllogism ("All men are mortal. Socrates is a man. Therefore, Socrates is mortal.") is rarely used in real argument largely because it is useless.
- Second, arguments fall into a handful of distinctive categories—and the same issues are at stake each time one of these distinctive patterns occurs.
- Third, there are six kinds of evidence that can be advanced to prove an argument that something is true—and the same tests for truth can be applied to these types of evidence every time.
- Fourth, argumentation is not mere quarreling: it is the study of human communication that seeks to persuade through reasoned judgment, and it is a deeply social and cooperative practice. (Though there are places where winning an argument rather than finding the truth is prized, this is not why most of us exchange arguments.)

The course does not presume any special prior knowledge or training.

A Great Teacher

Dr. Zarefsky is the Owen L. Coon Professor of Argumentation and Debate and Professor of Communication Studies at Northwestern University, where he has taught for over 30 years. The Student Government of Northwestern has elected Professor Zarefsky to the Honor Roll for Teaching *12 times*. A nationally recognized authority on rhetoric and argumentation, he has won several national awards for his own successes in debate and argumentation, and has coached National Championship debaters at Northwestern University.

He is also a distinguished author on communications. The National Communication Association has twice given its Award for Distinguished Scholarship in Rhetoric and Public Address to Dr. Zarefsky.

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In late August, Maureen Dowd revealed that "W.'s old pal and running partner, Lee Atwater, set up the Bush modus operandi: Lay in the weeds while craftily planting plausibly deniable surrogates to slice up your rival."

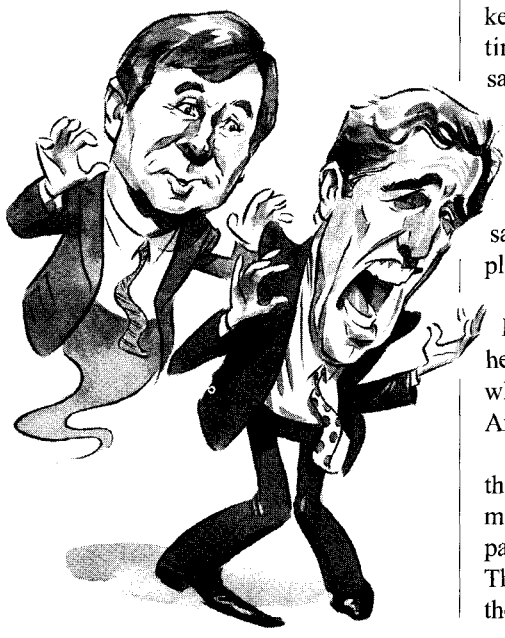
On the eve of the Democratic convention, *Washington Post* columnist Harold Meyerson proposed that Kerry avenge defeated Democratic senator Max Cleland and a string of liberal victims stretching back to the McCarthy era with a reprise of the famous McCarthy-era zinger: "Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last?"

It's as if the Democratic party has spent the past 24 years at some Terry McMillan-style pajama party, eating Häagen-Dazs from the carton and reassuring itself, "*We're* not to blame. It's those evil Republicans—and those jerk voters."

The idea that Democrats are hapless victims will perhaps surprise Henry Hyde, Raymond ("Which office do I go to to get my reputation back?") Donovan, and a long line of Republicans stretching back to the Nixon and Ford administrations. As for the claim that the Republicans possess some kind of inbuilt advantage in getting their message out—well, that's kind of a harsh verdict on the editors of the *New York Times*, who are doing the very best they can.

But let's go to the tape on the basic issue. *Do* Democrats lose elections because Republican lies cause the public to misperceive where Democrats really stand on the issues? In fact, those post-convention polls show a public highly alert to the genuine differences between the two parties.

Lee Atwater-style dirty tricks?



DARREN GYGI

One poll, conducted immediately after the convention by *Newsweek*, showed Bush 11 points ahead of Kerry. But look closer: On the issue of health care, where Kerry is making a costlier and more generous offer than the president, *Newsweek* found Kerry actually 2 points ahead. On the issue of jobs and foreign competition, on which Kerry has taken a wrongheaded but populist protectionist stance, the two candidates run neck and neck. And on the environment, Kerry's lead is huge: 50 to 36.

Where Kerry's lead vanishes is on issues of war and peace. Whether you ask about "foreign policy" or "Iraq" or "terrorism" or "better commander-in-chief," Bush holds a lead of anywhere from 16 to 28 points. *Time*'s and Gallup's post-convention polls showed similar huge leads for the president on issues of national security.

There are something like 160 million registered voters in the United States. If the post-convention polls are right, up to 100 million of them trust George Bush more than John Kerry to protect their children and homes from foreign enemies. You don't move 100 million voters by surreptitiously placing scurrilous anonymous fliers underneath their windshield wipers.

Over a long period of months, President Bush has persuaded American voters that he is willing to do "whatever it takes" to keep them safe. Over that same period of time, John Kerry has persuaded those same voters that he will do something less. And who even among John Kerry's supporters would deny that the voters have perceived something true about these two men? Kerry supporters will say that their man is smarter, more accomplished, more cultivated, more appealing in a hundred ways than George W. Bush. I have never heard anyone say that he has a stronger will to win this war. And what even Kerry's supporters can't say, American voters won't believe.

Since 1968, Americans have perceived the Republicans as the party of American military strength and Democrats as the party of accommodation and negotiation. That perception cost the Democrats five of the six presidential elections from the Tet offensive to the end of the Cold War. Then, luckily for the Democrats, issues of national security receded. But while the Democrats regained their competitiveness in presidential elections, they never regained their lost credibility on national security. Indeed, the Clinton administration worsened the problem: From gays-in-the-military to its antiseptic Balkan wars, Clinton missed chance after chance to convince Americans that the nation's security ranked supreme on the list of presidential priorities. And John Kerry is a much more dovish Democrat even than Bill Clinton.

At the beginning of the election season, John Kerry told friendly reporters that it was a great political advantage for him that he had been both a Vietnam warrior and a Vietnam war protester. He thought this experience would enable him to bridge the gap between those who thought of Vietnam vets as gallant fighters in a tragically lost cause and those who thought of them as vicious baby-killers.

This particular *aperçu* of Kerry's should have warned astute Democrats that their "electable" politician was not going to be so electable after all. Those of us who worried that George W. Bush might well be vulnerable in November could never understand why John Kerry never protected himself against the obvious points of vulnerability in his own record: the testimony to Congress, the jaunt to Nicaragua, the support for the nuclear freeze. But Kerry did not understand that these vulnerabilities were vulnerabilities. No wonder he and his supporters think that it is somehow a dirty trick to tell voters the whole story of his career: It's simply unfathomable to them that he could have been so badly damaged by the plain facts of his life story.

Lee Atwater was an effective campaigner, who trained other effective campaigners. But he was no magician. He won elections by practicing a few basic rules: stay strong on national security, stay connected to your voters' values. It's really not so difficult a formula. Yet all these years later, the Democrats continue to be surprised by it. No wonder they want to believe that the Republicans are led by evil geniuses. How else could anyone as superior as they are keep losing to the same people in the same way, election after election? **NR**

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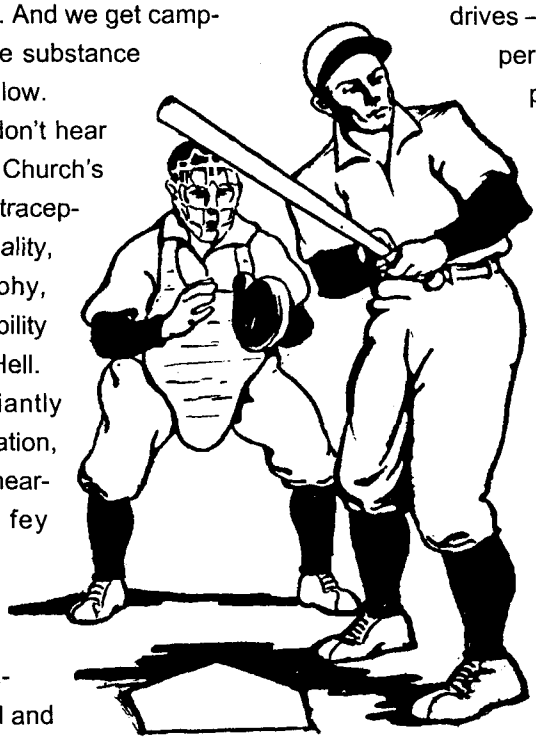
HARDBALL Catholicism

Why is so much of Catholicism gutless, anemic, and wimpy these days? Is it because there are so many touchie-feelie types in the priesthood? You know, "Let's all hold hands now and sing 'All Shall Be Well,' and then let's give one another a big hug." It's like being at some summer-camp softball game where it's forbidden to keep score. And we get campfire sermonettes with all the substance and nutrition of a marshmallow.

Where's the beef? We don't hear much, if anything, about the Church's teachings on abortion, contraception, euthanasia, homosexuality, premarital sex, pornography, consumerism, the indissolubility of marriage, Purgatory, or Hell.

Pope John Paul II valiantly called for a New Evangelization, and too often we sit around hearing from underhanded fey priests about tolerance and diversity, and how all religions are equally true. Hey, it's time to get rid of those duplicitous pansies in the field and replace them with real men.



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Our degenerate culture has seduced much of the Church. Many of our Catholic leaders continue to play lovey-dovey with the culture, content to tap weak dribblers back to the mound, and not keep score (of course! because they're losing badly!).

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■ CAMPAIGN 2004 IV

A Week Of Fear

But not in the GOP's convention hall

BYRON YORK

'ARE Americans going to react to a message of fear, or respond to a message of hope?" asked Tom Vilsack, the Democratic governor of Iowa. Vilsack was speaking at his party's "rapid response" center at the Republican convention in New York, where he, along with other Democratic officials, spinmeisters, and sympathetic pundits, spent much of convention week repeating one simple point: Democrats represent "the politics of hope," as senior Kerry adviser Tad Devine put it, while Republicans represent the "politics of fear."

But if one ventured outside the confines of Madison Square Garden and its media center, a far different story emerged. Supporters of John Kerry staged dozens of events—protests, plays, book readings, concerts, and parties—designed to counter the message of the convention. And those events were, by and large, almost desperate expressions of fear, in which participants pronounced themselves terrified of George W. Bush and what might happen to the United States if he were elected to a second term.

"I'm scared," the actress Rosie Perez told a crowd gathered at Crobar, a stylish Chelsea nightclub, on the night before she joined 200,000 anti-Bush demonstrators in the pre-convention protest march. "I'm f***ing scared out of my pants right now, and if you're not, wake up." A few minutes later, the comedian Chevy Chase took the stage to say of George W. Bush, "He's frightening. He's scaring the crap out of me." Chase said the president "makes Barry Goldwater look like Pollyanna," but then realized that some in the mostly young crowd didn't get the comparison. "I remember 1964. You hadn't been born yet," the 60-year-old Chase told the audience, with a slight tinge of bitterness in his voice.

Chase and Perez did not say exactly why they were so frightened. Of course it had to do with Bush, but what, precisely, was it that was so terrifying? A few days later, the *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman offered an answer.

At a New York University forum entitled, "The Books on Bush," Krugman said the president is the front man for a decades-old, far-reaching, right-wing conspiracy to gain control of the U.S. government. "We probably make a mistake when we place too much emphasis on Bush the individual," Krugman said. "This really isn't about Bush. Bush is the guy that the movement found to take them over the top."

Krugman explained that the conspirators who placed the president in power were the same ones who tried to remove Bill Clinton from office. But the conspiracy itself began far earlier. "There's complete continuity going back, really, I think—but this is my next book—you really need to go back to Goldwater," Krugman said. "A lot of this has to do with civil rights, and the people who don't like them." (Krugman's audience, older than the crowd at Crobar, seemed to know who Goldwater was.)

Supporters of John Kerry staged dozens of events—almost desperate expressions of fear, in which participants pronounced themselves terrified of George W. Bush.

As Krugman reached the end of his talk, he came to the question of what might be done to avert a right-wing takeover. Of course it's important to defeat George W. Bush, Krugman said, but that's not enough. "The answer, I think, my great hope now, is that we need an enormous unearthing of the scandals that we know have taken place," Krugman explained. "We need a mega-Watergate that rocks them back." The audience, which had given Krugman a standing ovation before he even began speaking, loved it.

Still, there were undoubtedly some Democrats who enjoyed Krugman's analysis but found it a bit, er, *understated*. For them, the hot ticket of convention week—the true anti-Bush hard stuff—was the double-billing of playwright Tony Kushner's *Only We Who Guard the Mystery Shall Be Unhappy* and New York University professor Mark Crispin Miller's *Patriot Act: A Public Meditation*, at the New York Theatre Workshop in the East Village.

Kushner's play is a "work in progress" in which First Lady Laura Bush, played by Academy Award-winning actress Holly Hunter, reads to a group of Iraqi children. Early on, Mrs. Bush discovers that the children are in fact ghosts, since all had been killed by American bombs (the situation is explained to the First Lady by an angel, played by *Sex and the City* actress Cynthia Nixon). As the play goes on, Mrs. Bush fights the realization that her husband is a terrible, remorseless man responsible for thousands of needless deaths, not only from the war in Iraq, but from capital punishment in Texas. "My husband, he executed everyone they told him to, everyone they let him, I should say," Kushner's Mrs. Bush tells the audience. "My God, a hundred-and-something people and he never even missed his early, early bedtime, nor for that matter, from what I could see as I sat up reading and rereading Dostoyevsky, ever even stirred in his sleep!"

In *Patriot Act*, Miller presented a far less melodramatic, and, if possible, even more menacing, Bush. Analyzing the president's misstatements, gestures, and policies, Miller told the audience that the president has a plan for "the transformation of the United States into a theocracy" and the "replacement of the Constitution by the first five books of the Old Testament." In Bush's new America, Miller explained, the justice system would be based on Leviticus, with Americans being sentenced to

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The Big Lie (I)

Are the "occupied territories" really occupied territories?

As Adolf Hitler discovered, the Big Lie will eventually be accepted as the truth. The Big Lie, the monster whopper of our time, is that the provinces of Judea/Samaria, often called the "Bank," are "occupied territories."

What are the facts?

A Brief History: Most of the area now called the Middle East was part of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire before World War I. Germany lost the war and so did its ally Turkey. The Ottoman Empire ceased to exist and the League of Nations assigned Britain and France as the mandatory powers.

France assumed mandatory control over what is now Syria and Lebanon. Britain assumed mandatory control over all the rest, including "Palestine," which comprised all that is now Jordan and Israel, including the "West Bank." The Golan Heights, which Syria now claims as its age-old patrimony, was originally part of Palestine.

In 1917, the British issued the Balfour Declaration, under which Palestine was to be the homeland for the Jewish people. In 1921,Winston Churchill, who was then Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, separated all the land east of the Jordan River from the territory designated to be the Jewish homeland, and awarded it to the Hashemites, who established the kingdom of Transjordan.

The Arabs, whipped up by their fanatic clergy, fiercely opposed the presence of the Jews on what they considered "sacred Moslem territory." There was constant warfare between the two groups, which the British tried to arbitrate, always favoring the Arabs, whom they considered more important to their imperial interests.

In 1947, the British decided that they had enough and resigned the Mandate. They left the Arab-Jewish antagonists to their own devices and turned it over to the United Nations. Their solution was to partition Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. The area west of the Jordan River (the "West Bank") and the Gaza Strip were allotted to the Arabs. Jerusalem was to be an "international" zone. After much soul searching, the Jews accepted the partition and, in April 1948, declared their independence in the area allotted to them by the partition. The Arabs rejected the partition out of hand. On the very day of Israel's birth, five Arab armies invaded the nascent Jewish State. In what must be considered an almost Biblical miracle, the rag-tag Jewish forces decisively defeated the combined Arab might. But Israel had suffered enormous casualties – 6,000 dead, about one percent of its population.

> "The Big Lie of Israel's 'occupation' has been repeated so long and so often that even people of good faith have come to believe it and to accept it."

Israel not an "occupier:" Israel stayed in control of most of the area east of the Jordan River, except for the Gaza Strip, which stayed under Egyptian control. The "West Bank" and the eastern part of Jerusalem stayed under the control of Transjordan, which promptly renamed itself Jordan and proceeded to ruthlessly expel all Jews and to obliterate all vestiges of over 2,000 years of Jewish presence in that land.

In the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel recovered the "West Bank," the eastern part of Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, conquered Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, and conquered and annexed the Golan Heights. During the 19 years that Jordan and Egypt were in possession of the "West Bank" and the Gaza Strip, it didn't occur to them or to anybody else that the Palestinians should have a state or even that they were a distinct nationality. The claim for that did not arise until after the Six-Day War.

Jews have been living in Judea/Samaria since Biblical times. The area was made judenrein (free of Jews), following the Nazi model, by Jordan, when it was in possession of the territory. After 1967, Jews moved back into the territory and a great hullabaloo was raised and is still being raised about the not more than 200,000 "settlers," who do not occupy more than 2 percent of the area. But there is no concern about the hundreds of thousands of Arabs, who, lured by the prosperity of Israel, have flooded into the area, nor of the more than one million Arabs who live in Israel proper and who enjoy full rights of citizenship.

Israel acquired the territories (the "West Bank" and Gaza) in defense of an aggressive war waged against it. No country in history has ever been asked to return such territories. Do the Poles return the huge chunk of Germany that they acquired in the wake of World War II? Do the Czechs return the Sudetenland, do the French return Alsace-Lorraine? Of course not! Only Israel is being asked to return such territories. The last sovereign of the "West Bank" and of Gaza were the Ottomans. The "West Bank" and Gaza are unallocated territories. To speak of Israel as "occupier"is preposterous; to speak of it, as Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the UN does, as "illegal occupiers," is poisonous slander. He knows better. But unfortunately, the Big Lie of Israel's "occupation" has been repeated so long and so often that even people of good faith have come to believe it and to accept it.

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death for adultery, homosexuality, and premarital sex, among many other capital offenses. "It's hard to understate the extent to which this administration is driven by the theocratic agenda," Miller said.

Miller spoke in all apparent seriousness, and his audience appeared to listen in the same spirit. At one point, on the screen behind him, Miller projected a lineup of photographs of the leaders of the theocratic coup. In the upper left, there was the late theologian R. J. Rushdoony, who believed in the rule of Biblical law; next was conservative California philanthropist Howard Ahmanson; next was Marvin Olasky, of "compassionate conservatism" fame; and then came Sen. Trent Lott, televangelists Jerry Falwell and James Robison, the Traditional Values Coalition's Rev. Louis Sheldon, and, finally, radio host Oliver North. In Miller's narrative, they were all intimately connected, and the audience was supposed to understand that all those connections led to George W. Bush, the White House, and the imposition of theocracy. And indeed, most of the overwhelmingly friendly audience seemed to get it; they gave Miller a rousing ovation when he finished (his last bit had been a warning that Bush intended to postpone, steal, or possibly even cancel this year's election).

By the end of convention week, the anti-Bush, pro-Kerry performers had sent a clear message: Be very, very afraid. Yet Democrats continued to maintain that they were on the sunny side of the hope/fear issue. Paul Krugman himself said so, when he wrote—just days after warning darkly of a right-wing takeover of the United States—that Barack Obama, the keynote speaker at the Democratic convention, had delivered "a message of uplift and hope," while George W. Bush "intends to run a campaign based on fear."

Perhaps some Democrats truly believed that. But in New York, Krugman, Miller, Kushner, Hunter, Nixon, Chase, Perez, and their fellow anti-Bush celebrities spent more time appealing to fear than anyone speaking from the podium of the Republican convention. **NR**

■ **CAMPAIGN 2004 V**

No Closer

Debunking Kerry's comeback myth

JIM GERAGHTY

JOHN KERRY is blessed with a reputation as a "great finisher." The candidate himself bragged to *Newsweek*, "I'm known as a good closer." Charles P. Pierce wrote in *Esquire* that Kerry has "won every race that he was supposed to lose." "Great closer" was the Democrats' buzz-phrase even before Bush surged ahead in the post-convention polls; Howard Dean is now touting the belief to the *New York Times* as a reason for liberal optimism this fall. "It seems to be the rhythm in all of his races," says Mary Anne Marsh, who helped guide Kerry's 1982 race for lieutenant governor. "None of them have been easy. He starts out the prohibitive favorite, then fades or stumbles, and has what I call a political 'near-death experience,' and comes up swinging. Then he gets focused and ferocious and terrific."

But Kerry's history doesn't quite match this blueprint. A careful review of his four competitive races suggests that Kerry has earned a "great closer" reputation while never seriously trailing in any campaign, competing against opponents who self-destructed at opportune moments, and running in a state whose political culture could be described as a Democratic incumbent-protection program.

Kerry's first elected political office was lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. He had stumbled in two congressional races in the early 1970s, but his national prominence during the Vietnam protests and more recent work as a local television commentator made him the only candidate for lieutenant governor in 1982 who was known statewide. He qualified for the September ballot by winning 15 percent of the delegate votes at the party convention, and then had his extra delegates help another candidate, former state legislator Lois Pines, get on the ballot. This maneuver guaranteed that the women's vote would split between two like-minded activists, Pines and former state environmental secretary Evelyn Murphy. Kerry poured more than $100,000 of his own money into the campaign. Three weeks before the primary, a *Boston Globe* poll still showed Kerry as the only candidate with any name recognition; Kerry managed to win the Democratic nomination with 29 percent of the vote. He went on to easy victory in the general election.

Two years later, Paul Tsongas suddenly announced his retirement from the Senate. Kerry immediately entered the race against Ed Markey, a congressman who had achieved national prominence in the nuclear-freeze movement, and lesser-known congressman James M. Shannon. Shortly after entering the race, Markey was interviewed by Boston television newsman Andy Hiller, who decades later would gain national attention for ambushing George W. Bush on a pop quiz of world leaders. Then a three-term House veteran, Markey flunked a similar quiz, unable to tell Hiller the name of the Israeli prime minister, or identify the countries in which the U.S. was deploying nuclear missiles. Within a month, Markey dropped out.

Shannon spent most of his campaign funds supporting other local Democrats and solidifying his support at the party's April convention, buying a slew of endorsements that failed to profit him in the polls. Kerry retained a strong lead through the summer, until a month before the September primary, when, in a reversal of the "great closer" phenomenon, Shannon closed the gap. Then Shannon stepped deep into a trap on Vietnam. During a debate a week before primary day, Kerry charged that Shannon had changed his mind on the MX missile. Shannon countered by pointing to Kerry's own changed tune on the Vietnam War: "If you felt that strongly about the war, you would not have gone."

Two nights later, at another debate, Kerry charged that Shannon had "impugn[ed] the service of veterans in that war by saying they are somehow

Mr. Geraghty writes the "Kerry Spot" for National Review Online.

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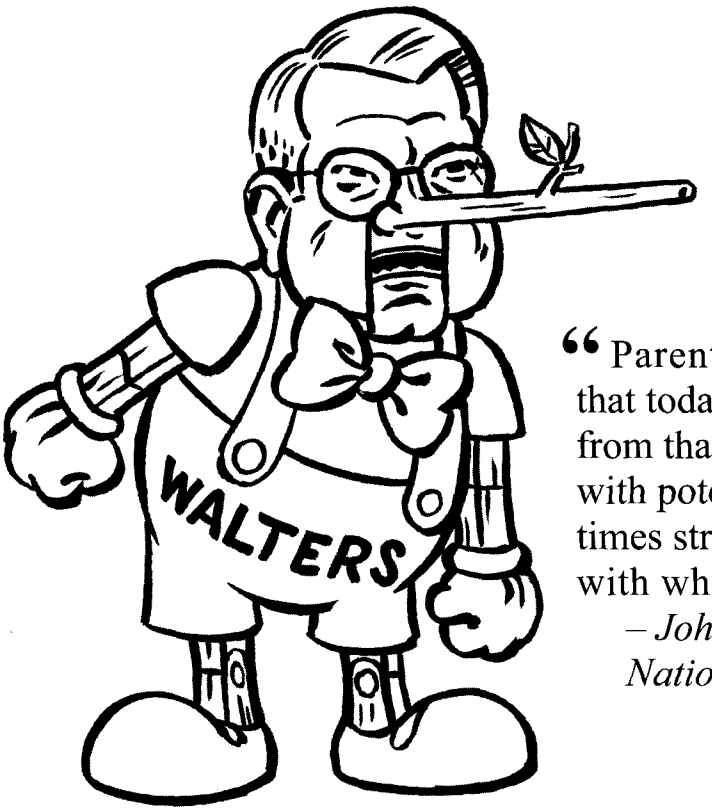

"Parents are often unaware that today's marijuana is different from that of a generation ago, with potency levels ten to twenty times stronger than the marijuana with which they were familiar."

– John Walters, Office of National Drug Control Policy

The European Union says it ain't so.

"Statements in the popular media that the potency of cannabis has increased by ten times or more in recent decades are not suported by the limited data that are available from either the USA or Europe. The greatest long-term changes in potency appear to have occurred in the USA. It should be noted here that before 1980 herbal cannabis potency in the USA was very low by European standards....

"The natural variation in the THC content between and within samples of herbal cannabis or cannabis resin at any one time and place far exceeds any long-term changes that may have occurred either in Europe or the USA."

– *Overview of Cannabis Potency, 2004*, European Union Monitoring Centre on Drugs and Drug Addiction (Full report at www.csdp.org/research/insights6web.pdf)

Drug policy should be based on science, not politics.

CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, Mike Gray, Chair; Robert Field, Co-Chair
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dopes or wrong for going." A group of pro-Kerry Vietnam veterans calling themselves the "dog hunters" heckled Shannon at every stop for the rest of the campaign. "The race was tightening," Shannon says today. "I had [from three terms in the House] a record on veterans' issues that he didn't, and the endorsement of most of the major veterans' groups. He had his band of supporters, and they were looking for an issue and pounced on that. There's more mythology to that than what it actually did to the race. It's not like he was running from behind and this put him over the top." Kerry won by a narrow margin: 24,529 votes, or 3.1 percent, out of 790,000 cast.

Kerry partisans hold up his 1996 reelection race against Gov. William Weld as the truest test of his campaign mettle. But a key fact has been lost in the hype: Kerry probably never trailed in that race. Only one poll during the campaign showed Weld winning, a 46 percent to 38 percent lead in a *Boston Herald* survey on August 12. In hindsight, the poll—viewed then as a dramatic development in the race—was most likely a meaningless statistical anomaly, a poll of 401 likely voters with a margin of error of 4.8 percentage points. Polls from the rest of the race showed Kerry with a small lead or in a statistical tie: up 45–40 in April, 42–38 in early September, 44–40 in mid-October, 42–40 and 44–40 in polls at the end of October. "Our internal tracking had the race within the margin of error the whole way," says Rob Gray, a Republican political consultant in Boston who was communications director for Weld's race in 1996. "Some public polls had Weld pulling ahead, but we never picked that up. There just weren't that many twists and turns in terms of poll numbers."

Since then, the Kerry win has grown to legendary proportions. The UPI wrote that Kerry "proved a real comeback kid." The *Valley Advocate*, a newspaper in western Massachusetts, has rewritten history: "Throughout the summer, polls consistently showed Bill Weld, the state's wildly popular governor, running ahead of the incumbent . . . You'd have written Kerry off for dead, too. . . . [He made] a dazzling comeback." Lost in the hype is the fact that Bill Clinton and Al Gore made appearances for Kerry in the last four days before the election, along with a slew of Clinton officials, in a state where the incumbent president won by more than 30 points against Dole. "Weld outperformed the top of the ticket by 27 points," Gray says. "It's tough to do any better than that. Kerry would have lost to Weld in probably 40 of the 49 states . . . The idea that he came from six lengths back at the final turn just didn't happen."

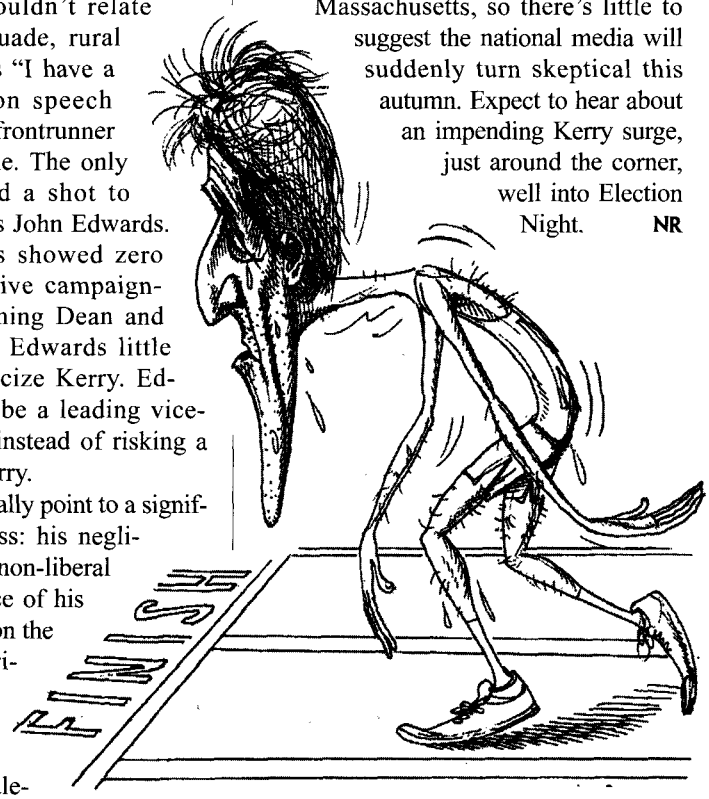
Some view this year's Democratic primary contest as the strongest indication that Kerry kicks it into a higher gear as Election Day approaches. In fact, a lot of breaks suddenly and unexpectedly went his way. Coverage of Dean, the Democratic golden boy of 2003, shifted significantly as the new year began. No longer perceiving him as a fun, wacky, fired-up Vermonter, liberals in the mainstream media and Democratic party chieftains began to worry that he might be a political disaster in the making. Word slipped out that Karl Rove preferred Dean as Bush's opponent, and NATIONAL REVIEW's cover blazed, "Please, Nominate This Man."

In the Iowa caucuses, Kerry's well-funded, organized, and experienced ground organization outclassed Dean's young, inexperienced, nose-ringed supporters, who couldn't relate to, much less persuade, rural voters. Then Dean's "I have a scream" concession speech demoted him from frontrunner to national punchline. The only contender who had a shot to knock off Kerry was John Edwards. But primary voters showed zero tolerance for negative campaigning in Iowa, punishing Dean and Gephardt—leaving Edwards little opportunity to criticize Kerry. Edwards preferred to be a leading vice-presidential choice instead of risking a messy fight with Kerry.

The primaries actually point to a significant Kerry weakness: his negligible connection to non-liberal voters, a consequence of his political upbringing on the nation's easiest territory for Democrats. "He has enjoyed a home-field advantage with a gale-force wind at his back for his entire career in electoral politics, because of the three-to-one advantage in Democrat-to-Republican registration in Massachusetts," Gray says.

But Kerry's "great closer" reputation will prove useful in the coming weeks. If Bush's lead holds, Democrats can cling to the hope that the last days of the campaign will suddenly transform their candidate from the tall Dukakis to the second coming of Bill Clinton. Of course, there's nothing in political science to suggest that a candidate can somehow suddenly turn into a better candidate in the face of an approaching deadline. "What candidate doesn't get more focused when the end is in sight?" asks Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia. "Of course candidates get an adrenaline surge; their ordeal is almost over. It's laughable. Kerry has awful campaign skills, and only in Massachusetts could somebody like Kerry do that well." Says GOP pollster Whit Ayres: "If individual effort could have a dramatic effect on a race's result, Bob Dole's coast-to-coast campaign marathon would have put him in the White House."

But Kerry was able to build this reputation with very little supporting evidence in Massachusetts, so there's little to suggest the national media will suddenly turn skeptical this autumn. Expect to hear about an impending Kerry surge, just around the corner, well into Election Night. **NR**



ROMAN GENN

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■ CULTURE

Little Suppressors

Dealing with the bookstore clerk who hates you

JAY NORDLINGER

Conservatives like to tell war stories—and refute them, à la the Swift Boat Vets—and some of those stories concern bookstores. And the people who work in them. Who tend to be . . . well, not exactly the most conservative-friendly people in the world. The bookstore leftist is more standard than the bookstore cat. And conservatives have often found these stores to be hostile territory.

In recent weeks, reports have circulated that customers—or would-be customers—are having a hard time finding *Unfit for Command*, John O'Neill's anti-Kerry book. Conservatives have suspected that stores are keeping it from them, or that clerks are deep-sixing them, or that something untoward is happening. Paranoia is in the air.

But sometimes paranoids can be on to something. I don't scoff at these suspicions, mainly because of my own experience—most of it in Ann Arbor, Mich., my hometown. (Ann Arbor is a bookseller's paradise, and, in some ways, a conservative's hell.) I worked at a store called The Little Professor. The manager there—a nice guy, actually—wouldn't put out conservative magazines and gun magazines. He flat refused to bring them to the floor, acting as censor. My brilliant (and conservative) friend Eddie Krause came up with a new name for the store: The Little Suppressor.

It may be hard to believe, but it took something like an act of courage to buy a conservative magazine in an Ann Arbor bookstore. I used to dread it—the clerk was almost invariably cold, and he often bristled, and sometimes you got snotty remarks. It was a relief just to get through a purchase without incident. And I know many who could give the same testimony.

In truth, it could be dicey to ask for a bag—yes, a bag. That made you a despoiler of the environment, you see.

I know a journalist who lived in the Ann Arbor of the West, Berkeley. Purchasing his *National Review*s and *American Spectator*s at Moe's, he would say to the clerk, "Well, just keeping an eye on what the enemy is doing"—anything to get by. These tactics may not be brave, but, gosh, are they human.

As the Swift controversy heated up, the two bookselling giants, Borders and Barnes & Noble, were besieged by callers angry that they could not find *Unfit for Command*. Conservatives hollered, "J'accuse!" Both companies pleaded that it was the fault of the publisher, our beloved Regnery—the supplier had not printed enough copies to meet demand. Liberals, for their part, also besieged the companies, demanding that they pull the book from their shelves.

Come with me, now, to BordersUnion.org, "The Borders Books Employee Union Web Site." Herein lie some revelations—or confirmations. In notes to one another, Borders clerks have been griping about having to sell *Unfit for Command*, to the troglodytes who seek it. Although not every seeker is a trog: According to one clerk, "We did have a college professor come in looking for [the book]. She teaches a writing class and wanted to use it as an example of a 'false book.'" Or maybe she just wanted to read it and wanted to avoid grief from the clerk?

But let's get to the nitty-gritty. Writes a Borders Books beauty,

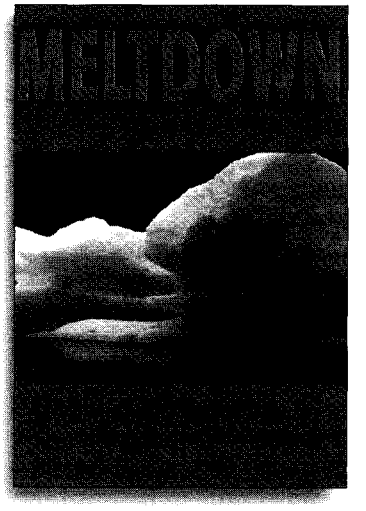
> We're "finding" [note those quotation marks] that most of the few copies we're getting are damaged and need to be sent back. So sad. Too bad, Bushies! Regnery needs to be more careful. I'm hearing from people at two other stores that this seems to be common.
>
> Why should we help destroy what's left of our country?

Back for a second crack, our man exhorts,

> You guys don't actually HAVE to sell the thing! Just "carelessly" hide the boxes, "accidentally" drop them off pallets, "forget" to stock the ones you have, and

"This book is written for everyone who has a curious mind and a feeling that media-fed claims of the end of the world just don't add up."

—John R. Christy, Director, Earth System Science Center, University of Alabama at Huntsville



Do scientists, politicians, and the media exaggerate their claims about the environment? And if so, why? Climatologist Patrick J. Michaels argues that such exaggeration is inevitable in environmental science, especially with regard to global warming.

In this readable and often humorous critique, Michaels documents hundreds of exaggerations, misstatements, and errors that have appeared in major peer-reviewed scientific journals and been trumpeted by top newspapers and television networks. *Meltdown* explains why the gap between perception and reality persists.

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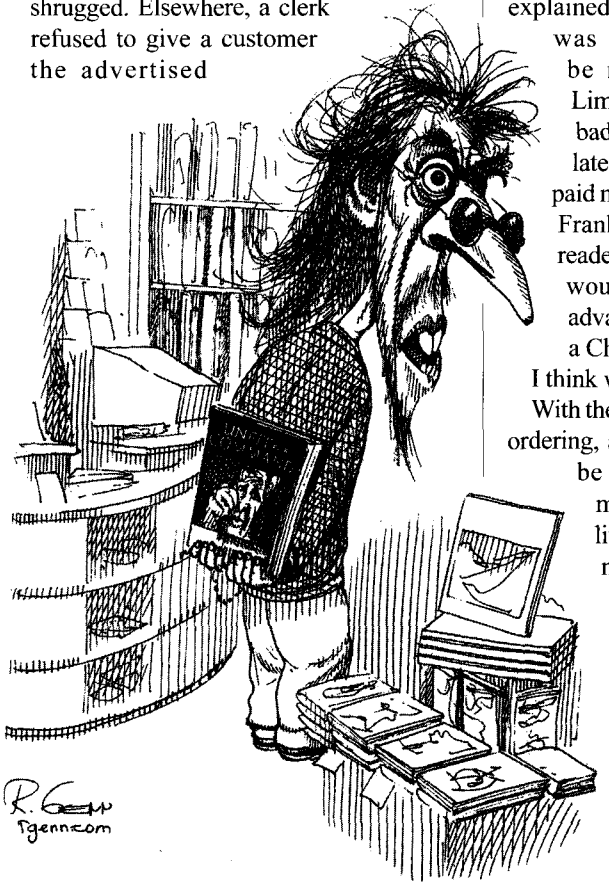
then suggest a nice Al Franken or Michael Moore book as a substitute. Borders wants those recommends [sic], remember?

I don't care if these Neanderthals in fancy suits get mad at me [fancy suits?]. They aren't regular customers anyway. Other than "Left Behind" books, they don't read. Anything you can do to make them feel unwelcome is only fair.

Another Borders beauty writes, "I wish [conservative customers] really knew how little respect I have for them." Oh, we know, babe—we know.

Not long ago, readers of National Review Online sent in to me their experiences of trying to buy *Unfit*, and of dealing with bookstore clerks in general. Care for a (very) small sampling of their observations?

In Littleton, Colo., a Borders clerk told a customer that the store manager had decided not to stock *Unfit for Command*—it was "not in the best interests of the store." (The manager was a Kerry supporter, the clerk allowed.) At a Barnes & Noble in Cherry Hill, N.J., a clerk told a customer that the publisher had "recalled" the book, owing to "errors." The customer doubted it and said so. The woman merely shrugged. Elsewhere, a clerk refused to give a customer the advertised discount. Why? "That book is full of lies."



NRO readers from all over the country report that *Unfit for Command* and other conservative books tend to be in some bookstore Siberia, while bouquets of anti-Bush books are front and center. (Some clerks at BordersUnion.org have gloated about this.) As for the rude treatment—that's par for the course.

"After 9/11, my wife went to a Borders to get the Barbara Olson book *The Final Days*, and was told by the clerk what a 'disgusting book' it was. This was just before the clerk admitted that she hadn't actually read the book." Reports another reader, "My sister went to buy *The Anti-Chomsky Reader* for my birthday, and the clerk went on and on about how great Chomsky was. My sister stopped him by saying, 'Please: I get enough of his views from my teacher.'" Everyone's got a tale, or eight.

How low will they go, our friends the clerks? Well, one conservative was surprised that his mom got him a copy of *Rush Limbaugh Is a Big Fat Idiot* for Christmas. (That is an Al Franken book.) It turned out that Mom had gone to the store looking for the latest Limbaugh book, as her son adores him. And the clerk had explained to her that the Franken book was infinitely better, and would be more appreciated than the Limbaugh book—which was really bad. "So my mom, who was in her late 70s at the time and has never paid much attention to politics, got me Franken's book instead." Asks our reader, at the end of his letter, "Who would be so horrible as to take advantage of a little old lady buying a Christmas present for her son?"

I think we know.

With the rise of the Internet, and Internet ordering, all of this unpleasantness could be a thing of the past. We can merely click, rather than brave little suppressors. (Actually, it's not their suppression that's so bad—it's their commentary.) But should we have to deal with them again, may we summon the spirit of this guy:

A while back, I paid a visit to our local bookstore (I live in southern New Jersey) with the intent of perusing the new release *Michael Moore Is a Big Fat Stupid White Man* [these titles are getting out of hand]. I looked on the new-release, bestseller, and new non-fiction racks—nothing. I wandered around for a while and then headed up to the information desk. The clerk, [unflattering description of looks goes here], smiles at me. Here's a fairly accurate transcript:

CLERK. How may I help you?
ME. I'm looking for *Michael Moore Is a Big Fat Stupid White Man.*
CLERK (still smiling). You mean *Stupid White Men* by Michael Moore . . .
ME. No. *Michael Moore Is a Big Fat Stupid White Man.* It's a new release.
CLERK. We don't have it.
ME. Are you sure? It's very popular.
CLERK (tight-lipped). Never heard of it. (Looks past me.) Can I help the next person, please?
ME. Excuse me, but can you check on your computer?
CLERK (very annoyed). Fine. (Bangs away at the keyboard. Scrolls down the screen at warp speed.) No. Doesn't exist.
ME (spying it on the screen). Wait—there it is.
CLERK (extremely annoyed). Oh . . . um . . . yesss. We only received one copy. It's in the back.
ME. Where in the back?
CLERK (loudly). In the political science section!
ME. Thanks!

I searched this section. The book was nowhere to be found. I walk back to the desk.

ME. Pardon me, but I couldn't find it.

(CLERK curses under her breath and slams her pen on the counter. Slams swinging door. Marches to the back of the store.)

I could not believe what she did next. She grabs a step ladder and climbs up. The book was lying flat on the top row of books—with the spine toward the back so you couldn't see the title. She grabs the book, climbs down, and slams it into my chest. Her face beet red, she screams, "HERE!!! ARE YOU HAPPY NOW, YOU FRIGGIN' FASCIST?!?!"

I was shocked—but I figured it was time for some Brooklyn diplomacy. I walk up to the counter again.

ME. Excuse me: Do you have *Treason* by Ann Coulter? In the bestseller section? I couldn't find it . . . **NR**

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The End of Liberalism

The president's convention speech is a conservative charter

RAMESH PONNURU

WHAT if they held a revolution, and nobody noticed? Most pundits have said that President Bush, in his convention speech, got bogged down in a "laundry list" of domestic-policy proposals. These proposals were generally understood merely as an answer to criticisms that Bush had not set forth his second-term agenda. Even conservatives sympathetic to the president have complained about the various spending initiatives contained in the speech. (The five or six conservatives proud to support big government applauded the same things.) These sorts of commentaries have missed a rather large point. President Bush did something extraordinary at Madison Square Garden: He proposed a practical plan to end American liberalism (as we know it).

Obviously, Bush did not explicitly promise an end to liberalism. That would have sounded frighteningly martial, and, in any case, most voters do not understand the world in terms of such abstractions as "liberalism" and "conservatism." So there are parts of Bush's argument of particular interest to ideological conservatives that need to be filled in. Also, the drama of the speech was undercut by the fact that the president had discussed many of the domestic policies mentioned in it before, especially the most important of those policies, the introduction of personal investment accounts within Social Security. There was thus "nothing new" in the speech. Nothing, that is, except for a renewed commitment to those policies—which is not to be dismissed—and a framework for understanding them.

Perhaps it would be best to start with the short-term politics of the speech. In the weeks leading up to the Republican convention, it was widely suggested that Bush is vulnerable on the issue of jobs. The economic recovery has been slow to create them. The unemployment rate may be down, but the payroll survey each month keeps showing disappointing numbers of new jobs. Bush may have a shrewder understanding of his problem. In his speech, he acted as though neither the unemployment rate nor sluggish payroll growth was his major economic weakness. Rather, he spoke as though he thought the problem is economic insecurity. A small number of voters is unemployed; many more fear losing their jobs, and their health insurance.

That insecurity may be heightened when the economy is slow or in recession. But the baseline level of economic insecurity, in good times and bad, seems to have increased in recent years. Liberal social scientist Jacob Hacker has found that family incomes were five times more unstable in the mid 1990s than in the early 1970s. Since most people fear loss more than they look forward to gain, this rising instability is profoundly distressing. Hacker believes that his research points toward the need for a liberal agenda going far beyond anything John Kerry has proposed. (He wants an "Economic Security Act," for starters.)

THE SECURITY PRESIDENT

A normal conservative response to an analysis such as Hacker's is to dispute the data and suggest that the situation is not so grim. But Bush, while of course continuing to suggest that the economy is improving as a result of his economic policies, chose a different answer. He acknowledged increased insecurity. But instead of proposing a larger governmental safety net to reduce this insecurity, he proposed a free-market solution.

President Bush opened the domestic portion of his speech with the idea that we are living in a time of economic transition: "The times in which we live and work are changing dramatically. The workers of our parents' generation typically had one job, one skill, one career—often with one company that provided health care and a pension. And most of those workers were men. Today, workers change jobs, even careers, many times during their lives, and in one of the most dramatic shifts our society has seen,

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two-thirds of all moms also work outside the home."

There is nothing especially remarkable in this opening. President Clinton, from the first moments of his 1992 campaign, also spoke about the economic transition we were going through, and of the perils and possibilities it created. An old order is collapsing. Walter Russell Mead, in his latest book, revives an old Marxist term to describe this old order as "Fordism" (as in Henry Ford). Michael Barone uses the infelicitous phrase "big unit America" to refer to much the same concept: an economy oriented toward mass production and administered by big government, big business, and big labor.

Fordism was itself born in insecurity. Decades of industrialization had destroyed the fiction that we were a nation of self-reliant yeoman farmers. Labor and capital were in conflict. Most Americans worked for others, their livelihoods dependent on vast impersonal forces they could not control or even comprehend. The Fordist system was built, from the late 1920s through the early 1950s, to preserve the middle-class character of American democracy under these economic conditions (and also amid military conflicts requiring the mass mobilization of society). Labor laws were changed. New doctrines of antitrust law were enforced. Social Security was provided. What James C. Scott calls "high modernist ideology"—optimistic, scientistic, and statist—was regnant.

People were more dependent than ever on large institutions, but they had a measure of security. It was built into the new political economy. "No damn politician can ever scrap my Social Security program," FDR is supposed to have said. Americans may not have had as much economic security as did Europeans: Academics referred to America's welfare state as "incomplete" because it lacked both national health insurance and generous child allowances. But big business was encouraged to provide health insurance to its workers. American Fordism sufficed to keep class conflict from ever growing to dangerous levels. And the system worked. Challengers to Fordism from the left and the right were "choked on butter," as Mead puts it.

But over time, and accelerating in the 1980s and 1990s, Fordism began to decline. The causes were many: the increase in global trade, deregulation, the shift toward customized production, increased affluence, the expansion of capital ownership, and maybe also something in the American character that rebelled against regimentation in ways that began to be expressed in the late 1960s. But whatever the causes, the system is now in a state of advanced decay. Hence the insecurities to which the president alluded.

The populist answer to those insecurities is to try to stop or reverse the economic transition we are undergoing, chiefly by shutting down global trade. The New Democratic answer is to soften the edges of competition and to equip people with the tools they need to make it in the new economic order. New and Old Democrats have profited election after election by promising to protect people from the risk of financial devastation due to illness or retirement.

Bush sounded a little bit like a New Democrat. He is an optimist about the transition: "This changed world can be a time of great opportunity for all Americans to earn a better living, support your family, and have a rewarding career." He thinks the government can help people: "And government must take your side." He is a modernizer: "Many of our most fundamental systems—the tax code, health coverage, pension plans, worker training—were created for the world of yesterday, not tomorrow. We will transform these systems so that all citizens are equipped, prepared—and thus truly free—to make your own choices and pursue your own dreams."

Like the New Democrats, Bush regards various government programs as tools to empower people to participate in markets. He pledged to spend billions on job-training programs (never mind their poor track records) and on community colleges. But a few of the "tools" Bush would give people are very different from the usual subsidies. Four of Bush's tools are potentially far-reaching advances from Fordism toward decentralized markets. One of those four, labor-law reform, is extremely limited. Bush's efforts to deregulate flex time and comp time have aroused furious opposition from the unions. Taken to their logical conclusion, however, these reforms have the potential to make it easier for mothers to reconcile work and family. The post-Fordist era might resemble the pre-Fordist era in not forcing a sharp separation between home and workplace.

A few of the 'tools' Bush would give people are very different from the usual subsidies.

THE OWNERSHIP SOCIETY

The other three tools are steps toward what Bush calls "the ownership society." They are Social Security personal accounts, health savings accounts and related policies, and tax reform. The first policy would let people invest some of the payroll taxes that currently go toward Social Security. Under some versions of the policy, these investors would in return give up some of their guaranteed payments from the government when they retire. The second involves policies to promote individual ownership of health insurance. The third evidently amounts to a reduction in the taxation of savings and investment.

The thrust of these policies is to provide a different kind of "security"—namely, property rights. Bush has described what he is after as "the security of ownership." The line in Bush's convention speech talking about personal accounts contained an echo of FDR: "We must strengthen Social Security by allowing younger workers to save some of their taxes in a personal account—a nest egg you can call your own, and *government can never take away*" (emphasis added).

Bush's Social Security reform would make all voters members of the new investor class. If personal accounts proved popular, they would create a constituency for letting people invest more of their payroll taxes. The whole Social Security program could, after who knows how many years, end up being replaced by a modest guaranteed benefit for retirees supplemented by large, individually

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owned accounts. Americans, especially the elderly and near-elderly, would be less dependent on Washington, and more interested in what the stock market would be doing for them than what politicians would be. Individuals would assume investment risks, or at least most of them, but would face less risk of governmental default on unrealistic promises.

Bush's tax reform is also designed to strengthen the new investor class. He has already reduced the multiple layers of taxation on savings and investment, cutting taxes on dividends and capital gains and expanding tax-sheltered 401(k)s. He now wants to consolidate and expand the existing tax shelters for savings, so that people could save more money for their retirements, or their health or educational needs, without facing double taxation. Raising the amount that people can save in tax-sheltered accounts may not do much to increase the ranks of new investors: If you can't save enough to take full advantage of these accounts already, you won't save more because the caps are lifted. But lifting the caps may cause people already involved in capital markets to increase their involvement. The rather dismal national savings rate might increase. And some people might start saving if they could use their tax-sheltered accounts for education and health care as well as retirement. The main appeal of this idea for Republicans is political. It doesn't involve tinkering with Social Security, it has been popular in some polls, and it can be done in a way that involves no short-term impact on the budget.

Bush's health-care policies are a break with 60 years of tradition. During World War II, employers found they could evade wage controls by offering health benefits to their workers. After the war, the IRS decided to treat those benefits as deductible. Born almost accidentally, the system acquired a peculiar logic. Most people got their insurance through their employers. They therefore had little incentive to control costs. Health insurance became less a way of dealing with unpredictable and catastrophic expenses and more a way of prepaying for routine medical care. Employers thus had to hire HMOs to control costs by rationing care.

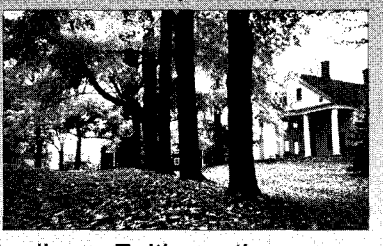
So the system generates constant problems and anxieties: Losing a job means losing health insurance, prices keep rising, individuals do not control their own health policies, and so on. Naturally, there is a constant demand for government intervention to solve these problems. The system, so to speak, wants to move in the direction of centralization and bureaucratic management; our welfare state seeks completion. Conservatives have generally had to choose between new regulations and subsidies, on the one hand, and defending a dysfunctional system on the other.

President Bush's health-care policies would move us in a very different direction. Their logical end point is a world in which most people do not get their health insurance through their employers. Instead, they would get higher wages. They would use the additional wages to insure against catastrophic medical expenses and to pay for routine expenses out of pocket. As more people paid out of pocket for these expenses, a free market would

From our Catalogue

crede ut intellegas

The affinity between the life of the mind and the life of faith is embedded in Augustine's dictum, "crede ut intellegas", "believe in order that you may understand." For Augustine, truth consists in the intelligence's conforming itself to the divine sense of existence. Intelligence consists not, then, in the more or less brilliant performance of the mind, but in knowing reality as it is. To that end, faith and reason conjoined form a strong defense against the temptations of sophistry, triviality, ideology, fragmentation, skepticism, fideism, and anti-intellectualism. Faith, as the acknowledgment of the divine order of things, and reason, as the seeing of reality as it truly is, are partners in the Catholic intellectual tradition.



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emerge and prices would fall. Individuals would own their health-insurance policies, which would remain theirs when they changed employers.

The centerpiece of Bush's proposed health-care policy is the health savings account. Those accounts offer a tax break to people who buy low-cost, high-deductible insurance policies and pay out of pocket for most of their routine medical expenses. Thus, federal tax policy moves toward neutrality between insurance and out-of-pocket expenses. The incentive toward over-insuring disappears. Naturally liberals are against the idea: Six decades of the status quo have conditioned them to think that the point of insurance is to socialize costs. They fear that letting people, especially healthy people, opt out of a system that doesn't serve them well will cause that system to unravel. Free-market conservatives should hope that they're right.

Health savings accounts became law in Bush's Medicare bill. In his convention speech, he promised to strengthen them in various ways. He also proposed another substantial change. Right now, individuals and small businesses that buy health insurance are subject to expensive state mandates. If you buy any insurance, you have to get a gold-plated policy. So companies that do not want to cover hair-replacement therapy for their workers may have to get it—or leave their work force uncovered. The press releases accompanying his speech, however, said that the president wants to let individuals buy health insurance out of state. If people can leapfrog out of their states' health regulations, a competitive marketplace in those regulations will have to develop—especially if Bush goes the next step and lets small businesses take advantage of interstate commerce in health policies, too.

These domestic policies add up not only to an ambitious agenda for Bush's second term, but to an ambitious social-policy agenda for conservatism. In effect, Bush is adapting market conservatism to modern circumstances by applying it to sclerotic bureaucratic systems that have not adapted. It is a pity that the president is not so transformative a figure when it comes to education; that system, he believes, can be reformed by increased centralization. It is a pity, too, that Bush's many specific promises for new spending are not matched by any specificity in his promise of spending "restraint." His zeal to make sure that more low-income children get covered by government health-care programs is hard to reconcile with his overall health program. But on any rational calculation, a massive free-market reform of the basic building blocks of the welfare state is worth a few million dollars wasted on job-training programs.

Toward the end of his speech, Bush said that "by encouraging liberty at home, we will build a more hopeful America." Expanding liberty at home had not been a major theme of his until now, and it had not been an obvious theme of his presidency. If Bush is serious about what he said in New York City—about providing Americans with the freedom and control to allay their own insecurities—then his second term will indeed see an increase in liberty. It will also see a mortal wound to liberalism. Welfare-state liberalism needs citizens who rely on the government and not on themselves and their families. And most other forms of liberalism depend for their political strength on their alliance with welfare-state liberalism and its clients. Conservatives have good reasons to see Bush through this November, and to hold him to his word. **NR**

■ **HISTORY**

A Hero of Our Time

Gareth Jones, 20th-century truth-teller

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

THE notebooks—worn, creased, and drab, but haunting nonetheless—lay carefully set out on a table in the lobby of a New York hotel. Their pages were filled with notes, comments, and calculations, jotted and scribbled in the cursive, spiky script once a hallmark of pre-war Britain's educated classes.

Their author had, it seems, wandered through a dying village deep within Stalin's gargoyle empire. "Woman came out and started crying. 'They're killing us. In my village there used to be 300 cows and now we only have 30. The horses have died. How can I feed us all?'" It was the Ukraine, March 1933, a land in the throes of a man-made famine, the latest murderous chapter in Soviet social engineering. Five, six, seven million had died, maybe more. As Khrushchev later explained, "No one was counting."

But how had these notebooks found their way to a Hilton in Manhattan? Some years ago, in a town in Wales, an old, old lady, older than the century in which she lived, was burgled. As a result, she moved out of her home. When her niece, Siriol, came to clear up whatever was left, she found a brown leather suitcase monogrammed "G.V.R.J." and, lying under a thick layer of dust, a black tin box. Inside them were papers, letters, and, yes, those notebooks ("nothing had been thrown away"), the last records of Gareth Jones—"G.V.R.J."—Siriol's "jolly," brilliant Uncle Gareth, a polyglot traveler and journalist. In 1935 he had been killed by bandits in Manchuria, or so it was said. All that was left was grief, his writings, and the memory of a talented man cut down far, far too soon.

Seven decades later, as I sat talking to Siriol Colley in that midtown hotel, looking through Jones's papers, his press clippings, even his passport, it was not difficult to get a sense of the uncle she still mourned. Welsh to his core, he was typical of those clever, energetic Celts who did so well in the British Empire, restless (all those visa stamps, Warsaw, Berlin, Riga . . .), ambitious, and enterprising. Despite his youth, Jones seemed to get everywhere, Zelig with a typewriter. On New Year's Day 1935, for instance, he was in San Simeon, Kane's Xanadu itself, side by side with William Randolph Hearst. Earlier, we find him on a plane with Hitler ("looks like a middle-class grocer"), and, why, there he is, smiling on the White House lawn in April 1931, standing just behind a hopeless, hapless Herbert Hoover.

Mr. Stuttaford is a contributing editor of National Review Online.

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Above all, this man who reportedly charmed his captors in Manchuria by singing them hymns, was what the Welsh call "chapel": pious, hardworking, teetotal, a little priggish, and armed with a sense of right and wrong so fierce that it gave him the strength to report the truth of what he saw, at the cost, if need be, of his career and, some would say, his life. Jones's politics were typically chapel too, steeped as they were in the Liberal traditions of Welsh Nonconformism. Ornery, high-minded, pacifist, egalitarian, a touch goofy, a little bit utopian, Jones was just the sort of Westerner who might have been attracted to the Soviet experiment. And so he was—initially. In a 1933 article for the London *Daily Express*, Jones recalled how "the idealism of the Bolsheviks impressed me . . . the courage of the Bolsheviks impressed me . . . the internationalism of the Bolsheviks impressed me," but "then," he added, "I went to Russia."

A WITNESS

And there, for Jones, everything changed. His accounts of his visits to the USSR (the first was in 1930) are a chronicle of mounting disillusion. Reading them now, particularly the occasional attempts to highlight some Soviet achievement or other, it's easy to see that this young Welsh liberal, this *believer*, wanted to trust in Moscow's promise of a radiant future, but Communist reality—dismal, savage, and hopeless—kept intruding. Unlike many who came to inspect the people's paradise, he reported on its dark side too. For Jones, there was no choice. It was the truth, you see.

By the autumn of 1932, Jones was sounding the alarm ("Will There Be Soup?" and "Russia Famished Under the Five-Year Plan") about the catastrophe to come: "The food is not there." Early the next year, he returned to Moscow to check the situation for himself, took a train to the Ukraine, and then walked out into the wrecked, desperate countryside. Once back in the West, he wasted no time, not even waiting to get back home before telling an American journalist in Berlin what he had seen: Millions were dying.

Soviet denials were to be expected. That they were supported by the *New York Times* was not. The newspaper's Moscow correspondent, Walter Duranty, reassured his readers that Jones had been exaggerating. The Welshman was, he condescended, "a man of a keen and active mind . . . but [his] judgment was somewhat hasty . . . It appeared that he had made a forty-mile walk through villages in the neighborhood of Kharkhov and found conditions sad." Sad—not much of an adjective, really, to describe genocide.

The *Times*'s man, who had won a Pulitzer the previous year for "the scholarship, profundity, impartiality, sound judgment and exceptional clarity" of his reporting from the Soviet Union, did not share Jones's sense of "impending doom." Yes, "to put it brutally," omelettes could not be made without breaking eggs, but there had been "no actual starvation or deaths from starvation." Duranty came, he claimed, to this conclusion only after "exhaustive enquiries about this alleged famine situation," but other discussions probably influenced him more. The big story in Moscow in

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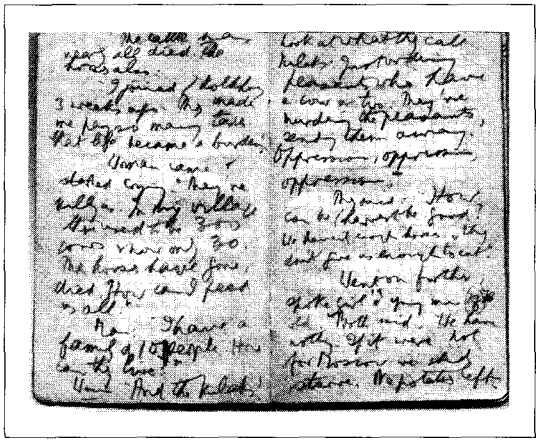
the spring of 1933—bigger by far than the death of a few million unfortunate peasants—was the pending show trial of six British engineers. Courtroom access and other cooperation from Soviet officialdom would be essential for any foreign journalist wanting to satisfy the news desk back home. That would come at a price. The price was Jones.

Eugene Lyons, another American journalist in Moscow at the time, later explained that "throwing down Jones was as unpleasant a chore as fell to any of us in years of juggling facts to please dictatorial regimes—but throw him down we did, unanimously and in almost identical formulas of equivocation. Poor Gareth Jones must have been the most surprised human being alive when the facts he so painstakingly garnered . . . were snowed under by our denials." According to Lyons (not always, admittedly, the most reliable of witnesses, but the essence of his tale rings true), a deal was struck at a meeting between members of the American press corps and Konstantin Umansky, the chief Soviet censor. "There was much bargaining in a spirit of gentlemanly give-and-take . . . before a formula of denial was worked out. We admitted enough to soothe our consciences, but in round-about phrases that damned Jones as a liar. The filthy business having been disposed of, someone ordered vodka and *zakuski*." Spinning a famine was, apparently, thirsty work.



Jones's jottings, circa 1933

Undaunted by the attacks on his accuracy, Jones intensified his efforts. There were articles in the *Daily Express*, the *Financial Times*, the *Western Mail*, the London *Evening Standard*, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, as well as a lengthy letter to the *Manchester Guardian* in support of Malcolm Muggeridge, who had, like Jones, told the truth about the famine and, like Jones, been vilified in return (suggestions that there was starvation in the USSR were, said George Bernard Shaw, "offensive and ridiculous"). In a letter published by the *New York Times* in May 1933, Jones hit back at Walter Duranty. The reports of widespread famine were, he wrote, based not only on what he had seen in the villages of the Ukraine, but also on extensive conversations with other eyewitnesses, diplomats, and journalists. After a few polite remarks about Duranty's "kindness and helpfulness," the tone turned contemptuous. Directly quoting from Duranty's own dispatches, Jones charged that censorship had turned some journalists into "masters of euphemism and understatement . . . [They] give 'famine' the polite name of 'food shortage' and 'starving to death' is softened down to read as 'widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition.' . . . Mr. Duranty says that I saw in the villages no dead human beings nor animals. That is true, but one does not need a particularly nimble brain to grasp that even in the Russian famine districts the dead are buried . . . [T]he dead animals are devoured."

Moscow responded by barring Jones from the USSR. He was cut off for good from the site of the story he had made his own. Duranty received a rather different reward. Some months later he accompanied the Soviet foreign minister on a trip to America, a journey that was to culminate in FDR's decision to extend diplomatic recognition to the Communist regime, a decision that was fêted, fêted in that famine year, with a celebration dinner at New York's Waldorf-Astoria hotel, at which Duranty was honored with cheers and a standing ovation. On Christmas Day 1933 came the greatest prize of all—an interview with Stalin himself. Well, of course. It was a reward for work well done. Duranty had, said the dictator, "done a good job in . . . reporting the USSR."

INTO ASIA

But history had not yet finished with Gareth Jones. The young Welshman possessed, explained David Lloyd George, the former prime minister for whom Jones had, some years before, worked as an aide, "a passion for finding out what was happening in foreign lands wherever there was trouble, and in pursuit of his investigations he shrank from no risk." So, it's no surprise to find him in Japan in early 1935, interviewing, questioning, snooping, and perhaps attracting the sort of attention that could turn out to be fatal. By July that year he was heading through the increasing chaos of northern China toward Japanese-controlled Manchuria (Manchukuo). On July 26, Jones updated the narrative he was writing for the last time. He was, he wrote, "witnessing the changeover of a big district from China to Manchukuo. There are barbed-wire entanglements just outside the hotel. There are two roads . . . [O]ver one 200 Japanese lorries have traveled; the other is infested by bad bandits." Two days later, the bandits struck. Jones was kidnapped. He was murdered two weeks later. It was the eve of his 30th birthday.

We will probably never know who was ultimately responsible for Jones's death. There had been a ransom demand, and so, perhaps, this was just a kidnapping that went horribly wrong. There are, however, other possibilities. The Japanese would certainly not have welcomed a Westerner watching the takeover of yet another Chinese province, and there is some evidence that the kidnappers were under their control. It's also intriguing to discover that one of Jones's contacts in those final days was linked to a company now known to have been a front for the NKVD, Stalin's secret police. To Lloyd George, only one thing was clear: "Gareth Jones knew too much."

And if he knew too much, the rest of the world understood too little. For decades, like the dead whose story he told, this lost witness to a genocide seemed doomed to be forgotten, a family tragedy, a footnote, but now that's changing. Jones is at last returning to view, thanks in no small part to the efforts of the indefatigable Siriol Colley, the author of a book about her uncle—and a second is on the way. (Colley's son Nigel has also set up a website: www.colley.co.uk/garethjones/index.html.)

One thing, however, has not changed. On December 4 last year, not long after the Pulitzer committee decided that Duranty should retain his prize, Colley wrote to the *New York Times* asking whether the paper could at least issue a public apology for the way in which its Moscow correspondent had smeared Jones. She's still waiting. **NR**

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■ DEBATE

No Surrender

The drug war saves lives

JOHN P. WALTERS

THE prospect of a drug-control policy that includes regulated legalization has enticed intelligent commentators for years, no doubt because it offers, on the surface, a simple solution to a complex problem. Reasoned debate about the real consequences usually dampens enthusiasm, leaving many erstwhile proponents feeling mugged by reality; not so Ethan Nadelmann, whose version of marijuana legalization ("An End to Marijuana Prohibition," NR, July 12) fronts for a worldwide political movement, funded by billionaire George Soros, to embed the use of all drugs as acceptable policy. Unfortunately for Nadelmann, his is not a serious argument. Nor is it attached to the facts.

To take but one example, Nadelmann's article alleges the therapeutic value of smoked marijuana by claiming: "Marijuana's medical efficacy is no longer in serious dispute." But he never substantiates this sweeping claim. In fact, smoked marijuana, a Schedule I controlled substance (Schedule I is the government's most restrictive category), has no medical value and a high risk of abuse. The Food and Drug Administration notes that marijuana has not been approved for any indication, that scientific studies do not support claims of marijuana's usefulness as a medication, and that there is a lack of accepted safety standards for the use of smoked marijuana.

The FDA has also expressed concern that marijuana use may worsen the condition of those for whom it is prescribed. Legalization advocates such as Nadelmann simply ignore these facts and continue their promotion, the outcome of which will undermine drug-prevention and treatment efforts, and put genuinely sick patients at risk.

The legalization scheme is also unworkable. A government-sanctioned program to produce, distribute, and tax an addictive intoxicant creates more problems than it solves.

First, drug use would increase. No student of supply-and-demand curves can doubt that marijuana would become cheaper, more readily available, and more widespread than it currently is when all legal risk is removed and demand is increased by marketing.

Second, legalization will not eliminate marijuana use among young people any more than legalizing alcohol eliminated underage drinking. If you think we can tax marijuana to where it costs more than the average teenager can afford, think again. Marijuana is a plant that can be readily grown by anyone. If law enforcement is unable to distinguish "legal" marijuana from illegal, growing marijuana at home becomes a low-cost (and low-risk) way to supply your neighborhood and friends. "Official marijuana" will not drive out the black market, nor will it eliminate the need for tough law enforcement. It will only make the task more difficult.

In debating legalization, the burden is to consider the costs and benefits both of keeping strict control over dangerous substances and of making them more accessible. The Soros position consistently overstates the benefits of legalizing marijuana and understates the risks. At the same time, drug promoters ignore the current benefits of criminalization while dramatically overstating the costs.

Government-sanctioned marijuana would be a bonanza for trial lawyers (the government may wake up to find that it has a liability for the stoned trucker who plows into a school bus). Health-care and employment-benefits costs will increase (there is plenty of evidence that drug-using employees are less productive, and less healthy), while more marijuana use will further burden our education system.

The truth is, there are laws against marijuana because marijuana is harmful. With every year that passes, medical research discovers greater dangers from smoking it, from links to serious mental illness to the risk of cancer, and even dangers from in utero exposure.

In fact, given the new levels of potency and the sheer prevalence of marijuana (the number of users contrasted with the number of those using cocaine or heroin), a case can be made that marijuana does the most social harm of any illegal drug. Marijuana is currently the leading cause of treatment need: Nearly two-thirds of those who meet the psychiatric criteria for needing substance-abuse treatment do so because of marijuana use. For youth, the harmful effects of marijuana use now exceed those of all other drugs combined. Remarkably, over 40 percent of youths who are current marijuana smokers meet the criteria for abuse or dependency. In several states, marijuana smoking exceeds tobacco smoking among young people, while marijuana has become more important than alcohol as a factor in treatment for teenagers.

Legalizers assert that the justice system arrests 700,000 marijuana users a year, suggesting that an oppressive system is persecuting the innocent. This charge is a fraud. Less than 1 percent of those in prison for drug violations are low-level marijuana offenders, and many of these have "pled down" to the marijuana violation in the face of other crimes. The vast majority of those in prison on drug convictions are true criminals involved in drug trafficking, repeat offenses, or violent crime.

The value of legal control is that it enables judicial discretion over offenders, diverting minor offenders who need it into treatment while retaining the authority to guard against the violent and incorrigible. Further, where the sanction and supervision of a court are present, the likelihood of recovery is greatly increased. Removing legal sanction endangers the public and fails to help the offender.

Proponents of legalization argue that because approximately half of the referrals for treatment are from the criminal-justice system, it is the law and not marijuana that is the problem. Yet nearly half of all referrals for alcohol treatment likewise derive from judicial intervention, and nobody argues that drunk drivers do not really have a substance-abuse problem, or that it

Mr. Walters is director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

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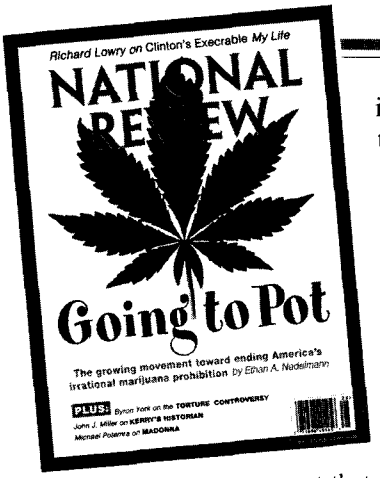
Richard Lowry on Clinton's Execrable My Life
NATIONAL REVIEW
Going to Pot
The growing movement toward ending America's irrational marijuana prohibition by Ethan A. Nadelmann
PLUS: Byron York on the TORTURE CONTROVERSY
John J. Miller on KERRY'S HISTORIAN
Michael Potemra on MADONNA

is the courts that are creating the perception of alcoholism. Marijuana's role in emergency-room cases has tripled in the past decade. Yet no judge is sending people to emergency rooms. They are there because of the dangers of the drug, which have greatly increased because of soaring potency.

Legalization advocates suggest that youth will reduce their smoking because of this new potency. But when tobacco companies were accused of deliberately "spiking" their product with nicotine, no one saw this as a public-health gesture intended to reduce cigarette consumption. The deliberate effort to increase marijuana potency (and market it to younger initiates) should be seen for what it is—a steeply increased threat of addiction.

Proponents of legalization argue that the fact that 100 million Americans admit on surveys that they have tried marijuana in their lifetime demonstrates the public's acceptance of the drug. But the pertinent number tells a different story. There are approximately 15 million Americans, mostly young people, who report using marijuana on a monthly basis. That is, only about 6 percent of the population age twelve and over use marijuana on a regular basis.

To grasp the impact of legal control, contrast that figure with the number of current alcohol users (approximately 120 million). Regular alcohol use is eight times that of marijuana, and a large part of the difference is a function of laws against marijuana use. Under legalization, which would decrease the cost (now a little-noticed impediment to the young) and eliminate the legal risk, it is certain that the number of users would increase. Can anyone seriously argue that American democracy would be strengthened by more marijuana smoking?

The law itself is our safeguard, and it works. Far from being a hopeless battle, the drug-control tide is turning against marijuana. We have witnessed an 11 percent reduction in youth marijuana use over the last two years, while perceptions of risk have soared.

Make no mistake about what is going on here: Drug legalization is a worldwide movement, the goal of which is to make drug consumption—including heroin, cocaine, and methamphetamine—an acceptable practice. Using the discourse of rights without responsibilities, the effort strives to establish an entitlement to addictive substances. The impact will be devastating.

Drug legalizers will not be satisfied with a limited distribution of medical marijuana, nor will they stop at legal marijuana for sale in convenience stores. Their goal is clearly identifiable: tolerated addiction. It is a travesty to suggest, as Ethan Nadelmann has done, that it is consistent with conservative principles to abandon those who could be treated for their addiction, to create a situation in which government both condones and is the agent of drug distribution, and to place in the hands of the state the power to grant or not grant access to an addictive substance. This is not a conservative vision. But it is the goal of George Soros.

The Future of An Illusion

On the drug war, believe your own eyes

ETHAN A. NADELMANN

I AM grateful for John Walters's ill-considered rejoinder to my article, mostly because it demonstrates so well the disregard for science, lack of intellectual rigor, and passion for partisan insult that characterize the drug czar and his failure of a drug-control policy. (My original article, with extensive footnotes, can be found at www.drugpolicy.org/NR.)

Let's start with Walters's paragraph on medical marijuana, which might best be summarized as "Who are you going to believe: me or your own lying eyes?" Dozens of scientific studies now confirm the medical utility of marijuana. (Interested readers can go to the National Library of Medicine site: www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi and enter the search term "therapeutic cannabis.") Thousands of doctors have recommended marijuana to tens of thousands of patients in the ten states whose laws allow such recommendations. A pharmaceutical product containing marijuana's essential ingredient, THC, is FDA-approved and widely prescribed—but scientific studies as well as thousands of doctor and patient reports indicate that most patients find it less effective than marijuana itself. In Canada, marijuana for medicinal purposes is provided by the government. And, as I noted in my original article, the same is true in this country, with a handful of patients still receiving a monthly supply of joints from the government's marijuana-production facility in Mississippi.

Marijuana remains in Schedule I for reasons that are entirely political, not scientific. In 1988, the DEA's administrative-law judge, Francis Young, recommended after extensive hearings that marijuana be placed in Schedule II, noting both its medicinal value and its relatively low potential for abuse compared with other drugs. That recommendation was rejected by the agency's director on political grounds. Consider that Schedule II, a less restrictive category, includes cocaine, amphetamine, and various opioid drugs responsible for thousands of overdose fatalities each year. No overdose fatality has ever been attributed to marijuana.

One might say that Walters's views on medical marijuana are still stuck in the Dark Ages—except that evidence keeps emerging of marijuana's having been used for medicinal purposes in the so-called Dark Ages and even earlier.

With respect to the broader issue of marijuana policy, Walters's broadside essentially amounts to a hodgepodge of

Mr. Nadelmann is the founder and executive director of the Drug Policy Alliance (www.drugpolicy.org).

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mistakes, distortions, and crude attacks. He ignores overwhelming evidence that most people who smoke marijuana do no harm to their health. He implies that alcohol's greater popularity relative to marijuana is mostly a function of marijuana prohibition, ignoring historical and other evidence to the contrary. He slips back and forth between claims about marijuana and claims about more dangerous illicit drugs, presumably hoping to score a few cheap debating points. He analogizes simple possession of a marijuana joint to drunk driving.

"The truth is," Walters says, "there are laws against marijuana because marijuana is harmful." Consider the implications of this statement. Does he mean to imply that anything that is harmful—or as harmful as marijuana—should be prohibited? The list would be endless given the relative safety margin of marijuana compared with thousands of legal drugs, food products, sports activities, and means of transportation. His criteria for prohibition, applied more broadly, represent not a conservative vision but a potentially totalitarian one, in which the nanny state criminalizes whatever offends its tastes and prejudices.

"A case can be made," Walters says, "that marijuana does the most social harm of any illegal drug." That is an extraordinary claim. Misuse of cocaine, methamphetamine, heroin, and illegally diverted pharmaceutical drugs results in tens of thousands of deaths each year. Many people addicted to these drugs steal to support their habits and some become violent while under the influence. Hundreds of thousands have contracted HIV/AIDS, hepatitis, and other infectious diseases. Keep in mind, too, that alcohol is an illegal drug for people under the age of 21; its misuse is powerfully associated with injuries and fatalities on the roads as well as violent and reckless sexual behavior. Marijuana can be harmful in all sorts of ways, as I noted in my article, but it is absurd to equate its harms with those of other illegal drugs.

"In several states," Walters notes, "marijuana smoking exceeds tobacco smoking among young people." This may be the ultimate indictment of marijuana prohibition. Young people have better access to marijuana than anyone else, notwithstanding decades of criminal enforcement, and many are tempted by its status as a "forbidden fruit." But consumption of cigarettes, which remains legal for adults, has dropped dramatically among young people over the past few decades. If ever a case could be made for preferring a policy of honest education and high taxation over zero tolerance and criminal prohibition, this is it. (Keep in mind that criminal prohibition represents the ultimate high-tax policy, except that the bloated "prohibition tax" benefits black-market entrepreneurs rather than the public treasury.)

The real question here is not what one thinks of marijuana, or whether one wishes it could be eradicated from our society, but rather what the government should do about it. Even as Walters grossly exaggerates marijuana's harms, he ignores entirely the harms occasioned by marijuana prohibition: billions of taxpayer dollars down the drain each year; 700,000 people arrested annually; private properties confiscated; and other basic freedoms violated by government agents futilely trying to enforce paternalistic laws. Millions of Americans who don't like marijuana nonetheless support an end to marijuana prohibition for precisely these reasons. When a government prohibition proves ineffective, unreasonably costly, and substantially more harmful than the supposed evil it was intended to cure, that prohibition merits repeal—just as alcohol prohibition did 70 years ago.

Let me offer, finally, a few words regarding Walters's style of argumentation and repeated attacks on George Soros. It seems a cheap shot to target George Soros in the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW for supporting me and the growing drug-policy reform movement. Walters might just as well have insulted William F. Buckley Jr., Richard Brookhiser, Milton Friedman, George Shultz, Grover Norquist, Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, former New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson, and dozens of other prominent Republicans and conservatives who have criticized the war on drugs and supported alternative policies, including an end to marijuana prohibition.

The principled conservative believes in restricting the reach of government into the lives and homes of its citizens. He respects the rights of states and local communities to regulate their own affairs free from federal overreach. He rejects wasteful government expenditures. And he requires intellectual rigor in refuting the arguments of opponents and advancing his own views. It should therefore come as no surprise that so many principled conservatives oppose the war on drugs.

But there's another point worth making about George Soros. There is probably no private individual who played a greater role than George Soros in hastening the downfall of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe, and in trying to assist the subsequent transformation of those states into democratic, capitalist open societies. He has contributed close to $2 billion over the past two decades toward this end. His commitment to this goal was motivated by many of the same principles that readers of NATIONAL REVIEW hold dear.

Soros saw in America's drug war many of the same political and intellectual traits that had made him hate Communism and fascism: political indoctrination substituted for education; bureaucratic apparatchiks disfiguring scientific evidence to serve the state's agenda; massive deployment of police agents and their informants in ever more intrusive ways; politicians mouthing stupid clichés without the slightest hint of embarrassment; official spokesmen responding to substantive criticisms of government policy not in kind but instead by impugning the motivations and characters of their critics; and the arrest and incarceration of millions for engaging in personal tastes and vices, as well as capitalist transactions, prohibited by the state for reasons it can no longer clearly recall.

John Walters needs to get out of his drug-war bunker and venture beyond the closed venues in which he attacks his critics without ever daring to engage us directly. The vitality of our democracy depends in part on the willingness of government officials to defend their policies in open and honest debate, but Walters has fled from one opportunity after another. If the federal government's drug policy is defensible, he should dare to defend it, and defend it honestly. And if he's unable or unwilling to defend it against informed critics, it's time for him to resign or be replaced. **NR**

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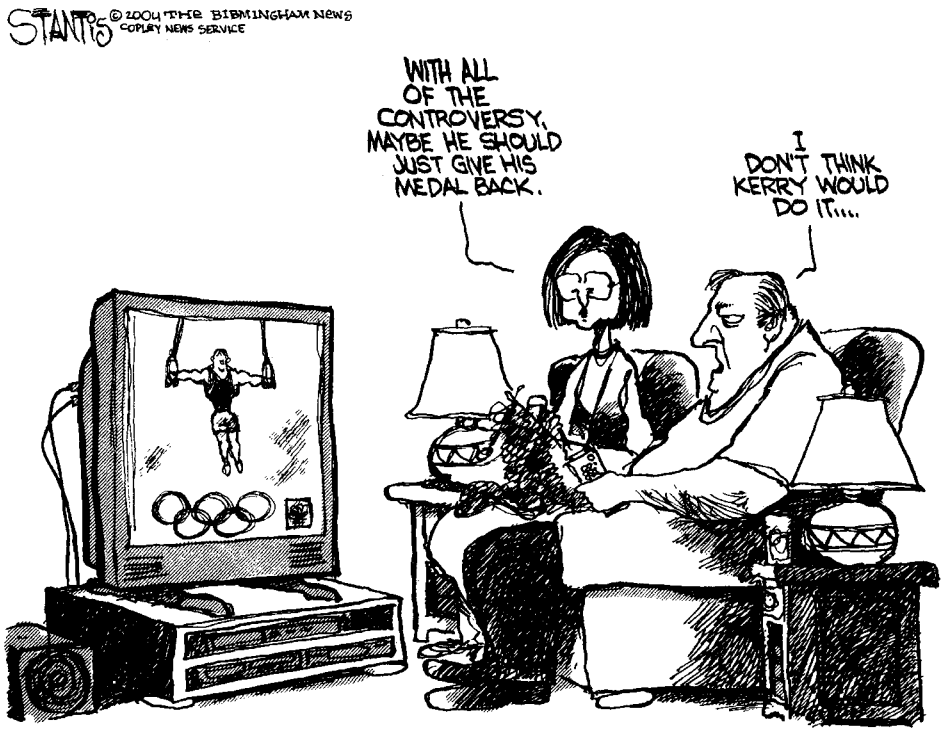
HELP!!!!

DESPICABLE!! Whoever's responsible for these TV ads attacking John Kerry's war record should be run out of town on a rail!!
Swift Boat vets attack Kerry
JOHN McCAIN
Uh, that would be you.
McCAIN-FEINGOLD TO BLAME FOR 527 GROUPS


STANTIS © 2004 THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS COPLEY NEWS SERVICE
WITH ALL OF THE CONTROVERSY, MAYBE HE SHOULD JUST GIVE HIS MEDAL BACK.
I DON'T THINK KERRY WOULD DO IT....

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Fox, Triumphant

In Boston of all places, it
Beat Jennings flat, who had a fit;
Then—who'da thunk it?—in New York
Shell-shocked Dan Blather blew his cork
Along with Brokaw, both of whom
Sank slowly into prime-time gloom
(CNN simply wasn't there).
As night falls, all three still suck air.

—W. H. von Dreele

"He's been feeding money into that thing all day."

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the long view

ROB LONG

Election Night Channel Surfing

Click

On *Hardball with Chris Matthews* on MSNBC:

CHRIS MATTHEWS: "Let me ask you something, you pollster guys have the country so wired up and measured and figured out that did any of you really guess the size of this victory?"
POLLSTER: "Well, Chris, if you look at the trends here, as we did in the weeks leading up to tonight, we saw that in several key states, there was what we call a strong demographic differentiation narrowing."
CHRIS MATTHEWS: "Not following you."
PUNDIT: "Chris, if I could, take Ohio, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. These are really not three states, but more like seventeen separate states that overlap in some key areas. The 'Oh Va' region, the 'Ohiop' area, and then the neo-rust belt of 'WeViPeo.' These places were trending early and then reversed, leading to the numbers we're now seeing coming out of that region."
POLLSTER: "These are early trending differentiating numbers, Chris. It's important to say that."
PUNDIT: "Yes, but in every presidential election apart from the most recent twelve that involved a non-primary-challenged incumbent against a sitting senator, this kind of result has been usual. So in a way, we shouldn't be surprised."
POLLSTER: "Right. And also, more people voted for Bush."
PUNDIT: "Exactly. That can't really be overemphasized."

Click

On *Casting for Brown Trout* on the Outdoor Life Network:

GUIDE: "Just pop a fly right there where that seam is showing."
ANGLER: "Perfect."
[Twelve minutes elapse]
GUIDE: "Nice."
ANGLER: "Yeah."

Click

On *Larry King Live* on CNN:

LARRY KING: "So you bruise the limes first, is that it?"
JENNA BUSH: "That's right, Larry. That way the juicy part of the whatever it's called—"
BARBARA BUSH: "The greeny stuff?"
LARRY KING: "The peel? The peel of the lime?"
JENNA BUSH: "Uh . . . no! Not the peel! That you kind of slice really thin and—"
BARBARA BUSH: "Whatever. What. Ever. Let's blend these suckers!"
JENNA BUSH: "Wait. Wait. We haven't put in the schnapps."
BARBARA BUSH: "I put in the schnapps."
JENNA BUSH: "When?"
BARBARA BUSH: "When that guy called asking for a picture of our feet."
JENNA BUSH: "Oh. Okay. Then you put in the tequila."
LARRY KING: "Didn't we put in the tequila?"
BARBARA BUSH: "Well, yeah. But there's still some in the bottle."
LARRY KING: "These look good. What do you call them?"
JENNA BUSH: "Um . . . some people call them 'eye openers.'"
BARBARA BUSH: "We just call 'em goooood!"
[Blender noise]
LARRY KING: "How do you young ladies feel about the way election night is going?"
JENNA BUSH: "What?"
LARRY KING: "How do you ladies feel about the way the election night is going?"
BARBARA BUSH: "Can't hear you, Larry!"
[Blender noise stops]
LARRY KING: "How do you ladies feel about the way election night is going?"
BARBARA BUSH: "Um . . . good? I haven't really been watching."
JENNA BUSH: "Try one of these, Larry. They're awesome!"
LARRY KING: "Just a small one."
BARBARA BUSH: "Wanna do a belly-button shot?"
LARRY KING: "Tomorrow night! The whole hour with Senator-elect Alan Keyes!"

Click

On *Tighter Abs with the Abdominator Plus*™ on MSNBC:

BEAUTIFUL GIRL IN UNITARD: "And then you just slowly lift up, and up, and up, and up, and see? It's easy! And fun! You can watch TV, read a magazine, whatever!
HANDSOME MAN IN UNITARD: "The Abdominator Plus is a complete workout! And it's easy to pack away for business trips!"

Click

On *Special Report with Brit Hume* on Fox News:

BRIT HUME: "No word from the Kerry camp at this hour. Mara Liasson, your thoughts?"
MARA LIASSON: "Well, I'm not surprised. It's been a very difficult six weeks for them, and I'm not even sure, actually, that there's still an organization and a structure there to organize a press conference. Really, ever since the strange bicycle incident when Senator Kerry seemed to—"
BRIT HUME: "Mara, I don't mean to interrupt but we have breaking news. With polls closed in California now, Fox News has collected the results of exit polling there and is projecting that California's 54 electoral votes go to Ralph Nader. Bill, your thoughts?"
BILL KRISTOL: "Well, not many surprises there, Brit. Nader's been ahead ever since Kerry's weird behavior in the second debate—"
BRIT HUME: "You're referring to the t-shirt and baseball cap?"
BILL KRISTOL: "Right. I think he was hurt by that."
BRIT HUME: "We have a clip of that. Can we run it?"

Click

On *Casting for Brown Trout* on the Outdoor Life Network:

GUIDE: "I see some bubbles over that way. Cast a few right under that spot there."
ANGLER: "Will do."
[Seven minutes elapse]
GUIDE: "See that riffle?"
ANGLER: "I see it."
GUIDE: "Toss one over that way and let it drift a bit."
ANGLER: "Will do."
[Thirteen minutes elapse]

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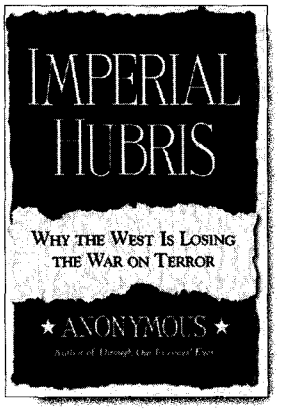
Uncertain Trumpet



Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror, by Anonymous (Brassey's, 352 pp., $27.50)

DAVID FRUM

This is an alarming book, but not in the way its author intended. It delivers an urgent danger signal—not about al-Qaeda, but about intelligence services staffed with analysts who think the way the author of this book thinks.

This latest attack on the Bush administration's war policies was written anonymously by Michael Scheuer, a veteran CIA analyst who headed the Agency's bin Laden unit in the late 1990s. His assessment of the War on Terror is grimly pessimistic: Everything the U.S. has done has been wrong. It was wrong to wait even three weeks before striking Afghanistan, wrong to try to rebuild Afghanistan afterward, wrong to try to cut the funding for terror, wrong to overthrow Saddam, wrong to crack down on radical Islamic groups in this country and worldwide.

As Scheuer sees it, the U.S. is now confronting a global Islamic insurgency under the leadership of the most charismatic and attractive Muslim leader to come along in at least a couple of hundred years. Scheuer dismisses hopeful talk about bin Laden representing only a fringe of a fringe within Islam. Bin Laden's views, he contends, are shared "by a large percentage of the world's Muslims across the political spectrum." America must recognize that "much of Islam is fighting us, and more is leaning that way."

Suppressing so widely backed an insurgency would demand slaughter on an almost unimaginable scale:

> If U.S. leaders truly believed that the country is at war with bin Laden and the Islamists, they would dump the terminally adolescent bureaucrats and their threat matrix and tell the voters that war brings repeated and at times grievous defeats as well as victories, and proceed with relentless, brutal, and yes, blood-soaked offensive military actions until we have annihilated the Islamists who threaten us, or so mutilate their forces, supporting populations, and physical infrastructure that they recognize continued war-making on their part is futile.

Scheuer understandably flinches from such massive bloodletting—and indeed, he is not truly contemplating it. He deploys his tough talk only as part of the old bureaucratic trick of generating unacceptable alternatives in order to manipulate policymakers: Well, Mr. Secretary, we have worked up three options for you. *Option A is total passivity. Option B is global thermonuclear war. And Option C is . . .*

In Scheuer's case, Option C turns out to be a policy of averting terrorism by figuring out what the terrorists want, and then giving it to them. Such a policy of—shall we call it "conciliation"?—is feasible in Scheuer's opinion because Osama bin Laden and his Islamists are guided by defined and indeed "limited" goals:

> First, the end of all U.S. aid to Israel, the elimination of the Jewish state, and in its stead the creation of an Islamic Palestinian state. Second, the withdrawal of all U.S. and Western military forces from the Arabian peninsula—a shift of most units from Saudi Arabia to Qatar fools no Muslims and will not cut the mustard—and all Muslim territory. Third, the end of all U.S. involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq. Fourth, the end of U.S. support for, and acquiescence in, the oppression of Muslims by the Chinese, Russian, Indian, and other governments. Fifth, restoration of full Muslim control over the Islamic world's energy resources and a return to market prices [*sic*], ending the impoverishment of Muslims caused by oil prices set by Arab regimes to placate the West. Sixth, the replacement of U.S.-protected Muslim regimes that do not govern according to Islam by regimes that do. For bin Laden, only Mullah Omar's Afghanistan met these criteria; other Muslim regimes are candidates for annihilation.

We've all heard this list before; what's new here is a senior U.S. counterterrorism official agreeing that the demands included on it can and should be met. Yet so Scheuer does: "We can either reaffirm current policies, thereby denying their role in creating the hatred bin Laden personifies, or we can examine and debate the reality we face, the threat we must defeat, and then—if deemed necessary—devise policies that better suit U.S. interests."

Scheuer's list of policy changes is headed by a change in policy toward Israel, a country he condemns as a "theocracy in all but name," characterized by "arrogant racism." He also makes it clear that he sees no reason for the U.S. to continue supporting any of its non-European allies against takeover by bin Ladenism: "For our own welfare and survival, we must 'watch others die with equanimity' and help after 'the flames burn themselves out' by focusing our overseas intercourse on trade, sharing knowledge, and donating food and medicine." He is ready to evacuate all "military and naval bases on the Arabian peninsula." And here's how he characterizes the struggles of four other countries victimized by Islamist terror:

> Washington has taken measures to enhance its ties to India and simultaneously to coerce Pakistan to halt aid for Muslim Kashmiri insurgents, thereby giving de facto sanction to India's sorry record of abusing its Kashmiri Muslim citizens, as well as its Israel-like refusal to obey long-standing U.N. resolutions. Similarly, Washington has supported and armed the Indonesian military's efforts to smash Islamist separatists on Aceh,

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advised and participated in Manila's attacks on Moro Islamist groups in Mindanao, and backed the Yemeni regime's drive to keep local Islamists at bay. . . . The point here is not to question whether the governments above are entitled to handle domestic "terrorism" as they see fit—they are—but to ask if the United States is wise to ally itself with regimes whose barbarism has long earned the Muslim world's hatred.

Three of these four countries—India, Indonesia, and the Philippines—are secular democracies under attack from the very same groups that hit the U.S. on 9/11. Yet in every case, Scheuer disdains them—India he labels "unsavory" and "malodorous"—and manifestly sympathizes with their attackers. And his tale is seriously misleading. Manila, for example, only "attacked" the Moro Islamist groups because the latter have launched a campaign of murder against Filipino citizens and foreign visitors. Aceh and Kashmir are more complicated stories, but you would think that Scheuer—who claims expertise in South Asia—would know that those Kashmiri "insurgents" are Qaeda-backed terrorists who nearly succeeded in triggering an Indo-Pakistani nuclear war by opening fire on the Indian Parliament in December 2001, killing nine people. Putting the Kashmiri terrorists out of business is essential to the peace of the region.

Scheuer's habit of seeing every world issue through the lens of Muslim aggrievement leads him into amazing double standards. While he apparently favors independence for the Indonesian province of Aceh, he condemns the U.S. for helping to achieve independence from Indonesia for East Timor, "ignoring the principle of self-determination." How does it violate "self-determination" to grant independence to an ethnically and religiously distinct territory that Indonesia seized by force and where the pro-independence president won 83 percent of the vote in a free and fair election?

It is also telling that in his accounting of U.S. successes and defeats in the War on Terror, Scheuer lists as *defeats* the bombing of Taliban forces in Afghanistan, the addition of the anti-Chinese Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement to the State Department terror list, a joint U.S.-Indian military exercise in Kashmir, and the Israeli assassination of Sheik Ahmed Yasin. What do all three of these accomplishments have in common? Very simple: They could potentially offend an important section of Muslim opinion. It would seem that the former head of the CIA's bin Laden unit would regard the actual capture of bin Laden as the most catastrophic possible defeat of all.

What distinguishes Scheuer's approach from that of, say, Michael Moore is that Scheuer is not an ignorant activist, but a person charged with informing the nation's leaders about the terrorist threat. It is disturbing, at the least, that a man who had such a large role in defending the nation from Islamic extremism seems to have been mentally captivated by it. I have a strong feeling that Scheuer's 15 minutes of fame have ended already. His book is no longer seen in the shop windows; its ranking on Amazon drops daily. But the spirit of appeasement that produced this book has not, alas, vanished—not from inside the national-security agencies, nor from the larger policy community. **NR**

LEGACY

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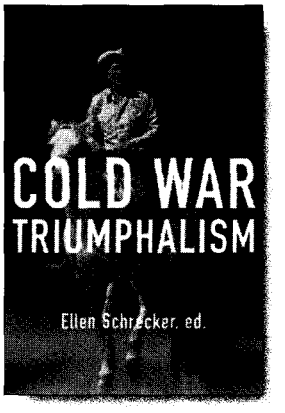
Inside the Left



Cold War Triumphalism: The Misuse of History After the Fall of Communism, edited by Ellen Schrecker (New Press, 304 pp., $27.95)

RON CAPSHAW

In the middle of an essay about recently discovered evidence of Soviet espionage, historian Maurice Isserman inadvertently defines the chief appeal of this new anti–anti-Communist anthology edited by Ellen Schrecker: "The student of history, from the vantage of the 21st century, may find it more interesting . . . how these documents were used than what they contained."

Like Oliver Stone's *JFK*, this book fascinates because of the collective self-portrait these essayists offer—in this case, that of a reactionary Left, desperately seeking to avoid the dustbin of history but refusing to embrace new arguments to escape this fate. Some updated information is allowed—the Soviets *were* internally repressive, American Communists *did* spy for the Soviet Union—but like the Right of their imagination, these essayists want to freeze history at a particular moment. Their moment of choice is the Vietnam era, in which terms like *military-*

Mr. Capshaw's work has appeared in *Partisan Review* and *American Book Review*. He is currently working on a biography of Alger Hiss.

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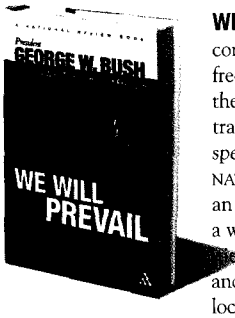

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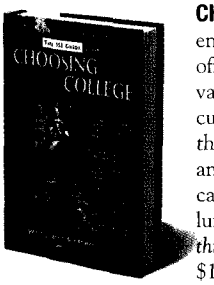

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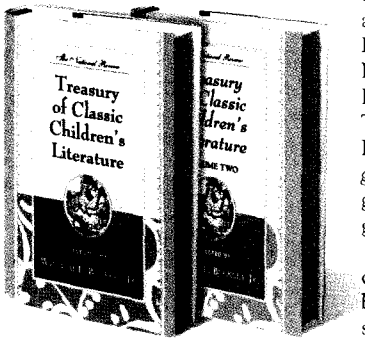

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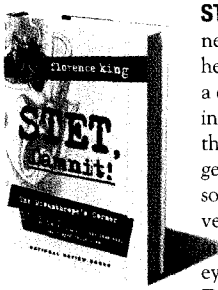

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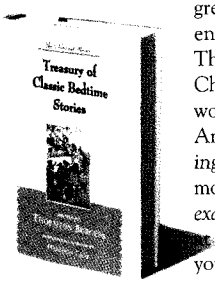

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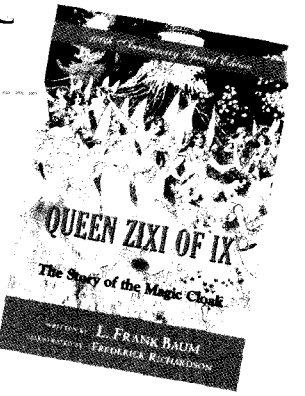

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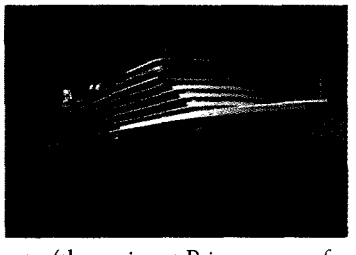

As *NR* cruise alumni (there are thousands!) know, our trips are remarkable events, marked by scintillating political shoptalk, wonderful socializing, intimate dining with our editors and speakers, making new friends, the rekindling of old friendships—and, of course, grand cruising. That's what's in store for you on the ***National Review* 2004 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise**.

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✔ Who can give a better overview than **Dick Morris** about the ongoing antics of Bubba and future political designs of Hillary (as well as give special analysis of the post-election playing field)?!

✔ Where does one *begin* to question **Bernard Lewis** about the brutal revival of the millenium-old struggle between Islam and the West?!

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✔ Who are *better* positioned to discuss the state of the Republican Party than chairman **Ed Gillespie** (who wrote for *NR* once upon a time before becoming the GOP bossman), and true-believing conservative Congressman **Pat Toomey** (a rising political star)?!

✔ Who can give keener insight on the war against RINOs (Republicans In Name Only) than Club for Growth boss **Stephen Moore**? Or a sounder assessment of cultural issues (immigration, campus "diversity," etc.) than the brilliant **Michelle Malkin** and **Dinesh D'Souza** (we'll also look for his take on the Gipper's legacy)?!

✔ And they'll be joined in all the elucidating and analyzing of the 2004 elections and their aftermath by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights: **Rich Lowry**, **John O'Sullivan**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, **Jay Nordlinger**, and NRO headliner **John Derbyshire**.

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SAT/Nov. 13	Ft. Lauderdale		5:00 PM	
SUN/Nov. 14	Half Moon Cay	8:00 AM	4:00 PM	morning Catholic Mass evening cocktail reception
MON/Nov. 15	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
TUES/Nov. 16	St. Thomas, USVI	8:00 AM	12 Midnight	
WED/Nov. 17	Tortola, BVI	7:00 AM	6:00 PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
FRI/Nov. 19	Nassau, Bahamas	12 Noon	7:00PM	morning seminar evening cocktail reception
SAT/Nov. 20	Ft. Lauderdale	8:00AM		

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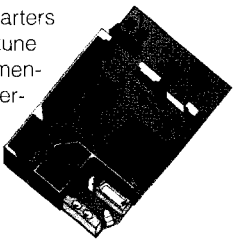

DELUXE SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) feature use of exclusive Neptune Lounge and Personal Concierge, complimentary laundry, pressing and dry cleaning service. Large private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, and refrigerator.

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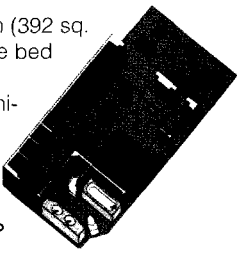

SUPERIOR SUITES Grand stateroom (392 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.

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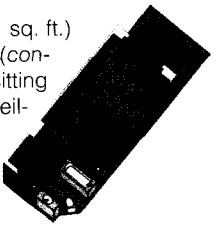

DELUXE OUTSIDE Spacious cabin (241 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, tv, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.

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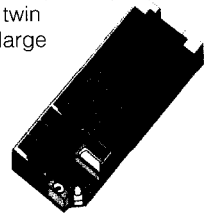

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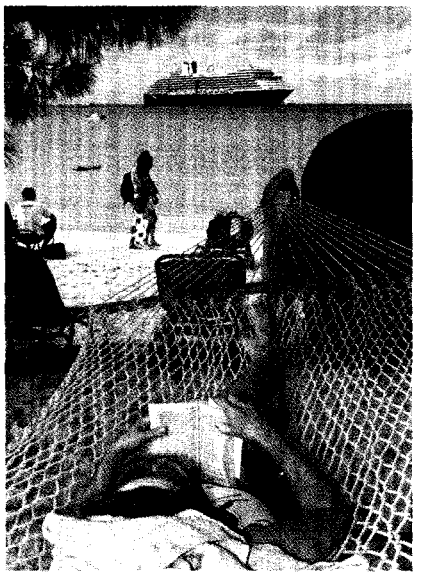

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Of course, you can experience that on many a cruise. But what you can experience *only* on an *NR* cruise are those exclusive extras that make up our extensive program: six seminars (each brimming with two-plus hours of bite and wit as experts make sense out of current events and the recent elections, and divine what's ahead in Washington and elsewhere for 2005 and beyond), three cocktail parties (hot hors d'ouevres, cool drinks, and warm friendships), two late-night poolside smokers featuring **H. Upmann**'s wonderful cigars and complimentary cognac, and dining with our guests (on at least two nights you'll enjoy intimate dinners with our speakers and *NR* editors!).

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industrial complex (mentioned 62 times in this book) have a totemic power to stifle opposing viewpoints, and in which there is no distinction between vital-center liberalism and the Right (indeed, in this work, Harry Truman—a man who castigated McCarthy as a greater threat to civil liberties than the Kremlin, and the FBI as an "American gestapo"—comes off as more of a fascist than J. Edgar Hoover).

This outdated prism is most evident in the essays by Isserman, Schrecker herself, and Bruce Cumings. Schrecker's nostalgia for the "stability and peace" of a Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe echoes the New Left apologetics for the Warsaw Pact of such luminaries as Herbert Marcuse. Cumings, writing about the Reagan era, pines for the countercultural organs of the 1960s—apparently forgetting the trenchant criticism of the Reagan administration by Gary Sick and Christopher Hitchens. Because the 1980s lacked a journal like *Ramparts*, Cumings finds the decade barren of anti-establishment criticism. Isserman expends the most energy at being contemporary: He concedes that the subjects of the Left's causes célèbres—the Rosenbergs, Harry Dexter White—were indeed Soviet spies. But even he seems bored with the present. It is only when he recreates the contextual reasons for becoming a Communist that he becomes truly excited ("they were going to change the world"; "they were marching for new brotherhood"). One imagines him humming the "Internationale" as he types.

This pining for the past undermines the essayists' advertised tone of "nuance," of complicating the Right's Cold War triumphalism. In a sense, they have advanced beyond what anti-Communists such as Arthur Koestler accused them of: fixating on the East. In these essays, their focus never leaves the U.S. Nuance, for them, means defining in detail the totalitarian aspects of Cold War America, but never those of the Soviet Union—odd, since several of them define the Cold War as a symbiosis between two entities feeding off and depending on each other. If the Cold War was akin to a chess game, with moves and countermoves, we are shown only one player.

For all the ink they use to justify why people became Communists, they refuse to understand why others became conservative. Perhaps the omission is deliberate: To understand why the Right is so numerous and self-congratulatory today would make readers reflect uncomfortably on the Left and its half-century of euphemisms, apologetics, and spins on behalf of Communism. For decades, Ellen Schrecker portrayed the American blacklist as a "reign of terror" (but where are the decapitated heads, the cackling crones?) while remaining silent on the Soviet purge trials. The academic Left lionized Soviet spy Alger Hiss first as a New Deal martyr to McCarthyism and later as a patriotic antifascist, worthy of having a chair in history named after him at Barnard College. Until the academic Left has its own perestroika, this book must stand as an accurate and chastening self-portrait. **NR**

SEVENTH SON

Like Sarah and Abraham,
Eloise and John were too old
to conceive again.
"It's laughable," they were told.

But when it was all over
and done, one thing was true:
You were my new baby brother.
"Here," Mama said, giving you

to me. I stopped your tears
and held you through the night
and the next four years.
You were mine all right.

I bathed you, put you to bed,
fed you on a silver platter.
Named and comforted
by a sister-mother,

you must have been mine
long ago in another place
and time, lost to the mind,
but reflected in your face

familiar as that old bond,
that pathway through spirit and
bone,
lighting, like streetlamps in a
dark town,
your way back home.

—OLIVIA ELLIS SIMPSON

■ SHELF LIFE ■

Faith-Based President

MICHAEL POTEMRA

It happened on a long walk in Kennebunkport, in the summer of 1985. For George W. Bush, the result of his long conversation with family friend Billy Graham was not a "'born-again' experience," but rather a "renewal of faith." Graham, Bush recalled, "planted a mustard seed in my soul . . . He led me to the path, and I began walking." In this campaign season, the religious faith of the 43rd president is one of the most consequential issues bubbling just below the surface—and sometimes even bursting into plain view. In his excellent new book ***God and George W. Bush: A Spiritual Life*** (Regan, 382 pp., $26.95), Paul Kengor—author of an earlier work on the religion of Ronald Reagan—examines his subject with sympathy and discernment.

What becomes clear in Kengor's account is that Bush impresses his fellow Evangelicals as a believer who "walks the walk"—one who "truly integrates his faith into his life." The author quotes Jack Graham, president of the 20-million-strong Southern Baptist Convention, as saying Evangelicals will turn out to vote for Bush "in record numbers": "Our people didn't quite know George Bush in the last election . . . but they do now." Taken by itself, this could well make the difference in a tight contest. But what about the non-Evangelicals? Aren't millions of Americans turned off by high-octane, emotional religion—and won't they look to a cool character like Kerry to restore religious "normalcy" to the White House? Not if they really take the time to understand Bush's faith. Kengor shows that Bush's actual belief system, the source of

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"*Miles Gone By: A Literary Autobiography* elegantly reminds us what difference one human being, properly placed and equipped, can make in the life of his time."

—William Murchison

The long-awaited memoir of America's most influential public figure of the last two generations is here. William F. Buckley Jr.'s ***Miles Gone By: A Literary Autobiography*** weaves together scores of celebrated writings by *National Review*'s esteemed founder, creating a masterful and engaging overview of the life of a man whose determination, skill, talents, and persona played a central role in forming and shaping the American political scene.

Editor, acclaimed novelist, *Firing Line* host, syndicated columnist, debater, speaker, unrivaled wordsmith, sailor, mayoral candidate, harpsichord player, and peanut-butter aficianado, Buckley is a Renaissance Man whose amazing life is captured in this special book—a must for his fans and admirers. You will delight in reading about the young Bill and the colorful Buckley clan, his college years (the basis for his controversial bestseller *God and Man at Yale*), his famous 1965 campaign for mayor of New York City, his passions (sailing, wine, Bach), his faith, his friends (David Niven, Henry Kissinger, Roger Moore, Clare Boothe Luce), and so very much more.

Now you can get your special copy of ***Miles Gone By***—personally autographed by Mr. Buckley—direct from *NR* for only $49.95 (includes shipping and handling). Your keepsake copy of ***Miles Gone By*** will include a special CD that includes selections read by WFB (and an Introduction from Walter Cronkite).

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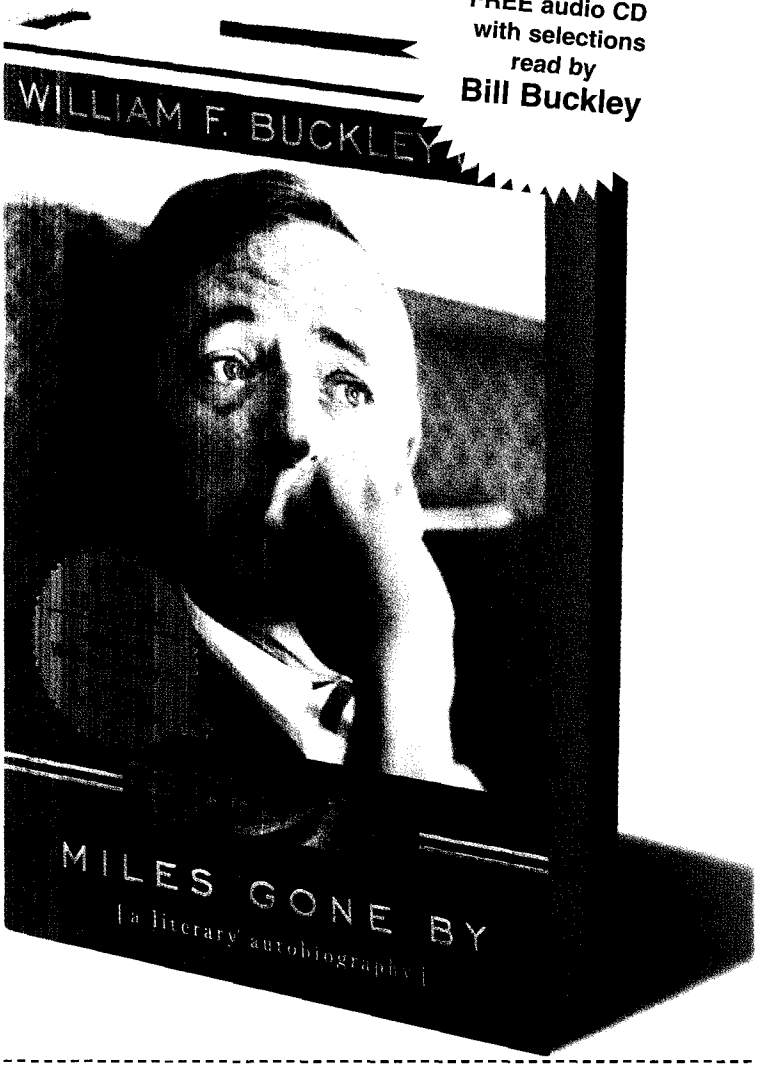

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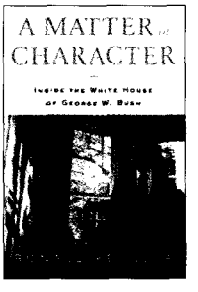
his conduct, is far removed from the stereotype of narrow-minded religiosity that looms as a bogeyman in the sensibility of millions of Americans, not all of them political liberals.

It is worth remembering, for example, what Bush said in his 2000 convention speech: "I believe in tolerance, not in spite of my faith, but because of it. I believe in a God who calls us not to judge our neighbors, but to love them." Kengor points out that "reporters who talked to the presidential candidate about his faith were struck by its lack of self-righteousness. Journalist Joe Klein, a liberal, observed after several discussions with Bush that the governor 'never displayed the vaguest hint of dogmatism. . . . Quite the contrary: His faith was humble and, well, soft. . . . He used words like love and heart more than any other presidential candidate I've ever seen.'"

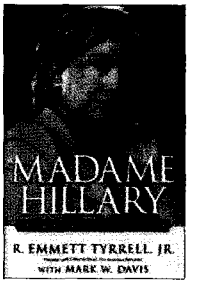


This personal warmth is also on display in all the kind comments President Bush has made about Islam since 9/11—calling it a "religion of peace" and carefully distinguishing the spiritual aspirations of millions from the heinous acts of a few. Kengor recounts that "some conservative radio talk-show hosts began snidely referring to the 'religion of peace' when they gave updates on the latest Muslim suicide bombing"; other commentators backhandedly defend Bush by saying that, well, he *has* to say something like that—even though he knows it's not true—just to keep the allies on board in the War on Terror. But Kengor offers a solid argument in the president's defense: "What is perhaps most remarkable (and unrecognized) about George W. Bush is that his inclusive attitude toward Islam *predates* September 11. Indeed, Bush was the first president ever to mention mosques in his inaugural address. 'I was floored by that,' says professor of religion Paul C. Kemeny, an expert on civil religion. 'The fact that he included "mosque" before 9/11 is profound.'"

To examine, in this book, how President Bush "walks the walk" is to be floored, time and again. The man is a believer in meekness who knows that justice—the defense of the weak—sometimes demands acts of strength. Bush supporters will love this book; Bush opponents and undecideds will learn much from it.

■ Another new Bush book is ***A Matter of Character: Inside the White House of George W. Bush*** (Sentinel, 306 pp., $24.95) by Ronald Kessler. The author, a former investigative reporter for the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Post*, provides both a straightforward political biography of Bush and a remarkable inside account of his White House. Bush's character comes into focus in telling anecdotes. At one point, Democrats are reneging on a deal with the president; an aide asks Bush to retaliate. "If I understand you correctly," Bush responds, "this is all about spite, isn't it?" The aide responds that, well, yes it is, "but it feels so good." Bush then delivers the verdict: "No, I'm not going to do the spite thing." The aide later described how the encounter ended: "I sort of meekly left the Oval Office like a lower form of humanity." The book shows Bush as fundamentally comfortable in his own skin, not a victim of unhealthy political obsessions. Kessler's quote from a 1999 Bush interview is apt: "If I don't win, so be it. . . . If it works, great. And I believe I can do the job. And if it doesn't work, that's just the way it goes, and I'll come back home and my wife'll love me, the dog'll love me, the cats will play like they don't, but they really will." This is the kind of attitude that wins wars, and hearts.

■ How about reading a *2008* campaign book? That's what R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. and Mark Davis have given us in the splendidly entertaining ***Madame Hillary: The Dark Road to the White House*** (Regnery, 231 pp., $27.95). Tyrrell's credentials as a Clintonologist are unparalleled—as editor of *The American Spectator*, he studied and investigated both Bill and Hillary in minute detail throughout the eight years of the Clinton presidency—and in this new volume he builds the case against Hillary with a passion reminiscent of the Churchill of *The Gathering Storm*.



"This is a book about an ambitious, power-hungry woman," begins the book's first paragraph, which goes on to describe Hillary as a "deep-dyed radical" reminiscent of the late Madame Mao. "I see no diabolism in Madame Hillary," writes Tyrrell, "but I do see a Coat and Tie Radical—a phantasm who takes on the shape of respectability." In her first three and a half years of dogged effort in the U.S. Senate, she has seen her stature as a Democratic-party powerhouse continue to grow steadily. Hillary is now chairman of the Democratic Steering and Coordination Committee, which the author characterizes as "one of the most powerful jobs in the Senate Democratic leadership," running "the sweet spot . . . where the wish lists of big money, liberal interest groups . . . get a say on the Democrats' internal policy agenda."

Tyrrell is second to none in his willingness—and his ability—to mount a scathing assault on Hillary and all her works. But he offers, as well, some wise words of caution and restraint: "Hatred is not only bad for the soul. It also clouds judgment and causes one to waste a campaign throwing useless haymakers. It is important to record Hillary's life record and share it with the receptive public. But . . . it will not be good enough to beat Hillary because she deserves to lose. Her opponent will have to deserve to win." These are the words of a man who holds to higher ideals than mere victory—and therein lies much of the force of Bob Tyrrell's fine book.

■ Should conservatives support "the Enlightenment project"? Nostalgists for throne and altar have always been suspicious of the Enlightenment and its legacy, and they have recently been joined in this sentiment by postmodern theorists skeptical of the claims of reason. In ***The Roads to Modernity: The British, French, and American Enlightenments*** (Knopf, 284 pp., $25), Gertrude Himmelfarb, one of our leading social theorists and historians of ideas, offers a convincing defense of the enduring worth of the Enlightenment.

She carefully distinguishes the British Enlightenment—a "sociology of virtue" realized politically in the new American Republic—from the abstract and absolutist deification of capital-R Reason of the French Enlightenment. In a France

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characterized by religious oppression, the Enlightenment was motivated by Voltaire's spirit of "*Ecrasez l'infâme*"; but in Britain, where religious diversity and toleration had taken much firmer hold, there was not an *infâme* against which to revolt. Britain's enlightened spirits could therefore view men's natural religious sentiments as allies in the fight for reform, not dangerous atavisms to be stamped out as a public menace. In Himmelfarb's account, because the British Enlightenment was more modest in its aims, and more reasonable in its understanding of man—in short, because it was more *humane*—than the French Enlightenment, it has been more beneficial and lasting in its results. This book is a short, sensible, and highly readable defense of modernity as a conservative accomplishment.

■ One of John Kerry's key selling points in this election is that he is a more respected figure than President Bush among a group smilingly called "the international community." Not to be confused with ordinary men and women in foreign countries, this "international community" is actually a congeries of statist hacks with more interest in preserving the status quo (including their own privileges) than in advancing the global public good. They have a proven record of terrible judgment when it comes to American politicians; their hero—their lionized Nobel Prize honoree—is Jimmy Carter. Those of us old enough to remember when Carter appeared to be a nice guy, a breath of fresh air in a corrupt and despondent time, would do well to read Steven F. Hayward's ***The Real Jimmy Carter: How Our Worst Ex-President Undermines American Foreign Policy, Coddles Dictators, and Created the Party of Clinton and Kerry*** (Regnery, 262 pp., $27.95), an admirably concise yet pointed biography covering Carter's early political strivings, his disastrous presidency, and his post-presidential meddling in world affairs. Carter's worldview has proved itself, on too many occasions, spectacularly wrong. The most famous examples—the fiasco of the hostages in Iran (1979–81), the nuclear deal with North Korea (1994)—are recounted here; so are other less well-known nuggets. "You have been so patient and wise," Carter effused to Yasser Arafat in 1993. "Regrettable," he said of United Nations efforts to capture Somalian war-

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lord Mohammed Farah Aidid (of *Black Hawk Down* notoriety). To relive the Carter record in Hayward's pages is to agree with the author that America should not "go down that road again"; any foreign potentates who differ can be safely assumed not to have our best interests at heart.

■ In ***Inside the Asylum: Why the United Nations and Old Europe Are Worse Than You Think*** (Regnery, 196 pp., $27.95), former deputy undersecretary of defense—and National Review Online contributor—Jed Babbin makes a dispositive case against today's U.N. and its diplomatic enablers. That the U.N. is financially corrupt is evidenced by the scams of its Oil for Food program in Iraq; but much more threatening for the world's future is the institution's moral and intellectual corruption, which, writes Babbin, cripples its response to terrorism and worldwide human-rights abuses. It has been aptly observed that the United Nations has never been a union of nations at all; it has been, rather, a union of governments, and favors governments—no matter how barbaric—over people. Babbin's powerful book amounts to a timely warning: If, owing to increased U.S. support from a Kerry administration, the U.N. gains more power, the result will be great harm "to children and other living things."

■ ***The Triumph of Wounded Souls: Seven Holocaust Survivors' Lives*** (Notre Dame, 292 pp., $28), by Bernice Lerner of Boston University, is a moving story of men and women who responded to experiences of unbelievable barbarity by dedicating their lives to the pursuit of knowledge.

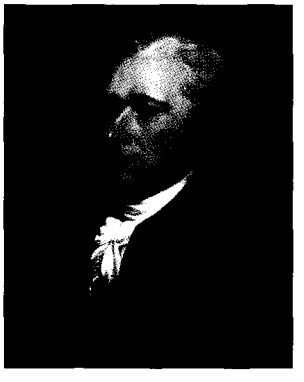
■ The cost of an American college education continues its scandalous rise. In ***Going Broke by Degree: Why College Costs Too Much*** (AEI, 259 pp., $25), economist Richard Vedder of Ohio University and the American Enterprise Institute paints a comprehensive picture of what's wrong. One problem is a lack of market discipline, which permits universities to divert a growing amount of money to programs connected only indirectly, if at all, to undergraduate education. **NR**

■ MUSEUMS ■

Recovering a Founder

RICHARD BROOKHISER

THE year of Alexander Hamilton, which saw the publication of Ron Chernow's imposing biography and the bicentennial of Hamilton's duel, comes to a conclusion with a blockbuster exhibit at the New-York Historical Society, "Alexander Hamilton: The Man Who Made Modern America," open from September 10 to February 28, 2005 (I am the Historian Curator). The carnival of Hamiltonia is good for the country, as part of the ongoing Founders' Revival. It is good for Hamilton who, while never forgotten, was cast in the shade by the Jefferson/Jackson Day school of American history, which read our past as a long, long road to the New Deal. But it is of special interest to conservatives, who should take the opportunity to rethink their often sour attitude to the man on the ten-dollar bill.



Russell Kirk's grudging account of Hamilton in *The Conservative Mind* set the tone for conservative minds. Kirk saw Hamilton as a sorcerer's apprentice, who, by encouraging the growth of manufacturing and cities, uncorked the genies of mass politics and change. Kirk also, inconsistently, thought Hamilton was a 17th-century mercantilist. Libertarians suspect Hamilton as the big-government man among the founders. Free traders dislike him as a patron of protection—a mild patron: He supported subsidies for new industries only, which is anathema to pure free trade, but a long way from Bismarck. What militates most against Hamilton is the cult of Jefferson, the anti-statist southern agrarian, for it was Jefferson who said that Hamilton's career had been "a tissue of machinations against the liberty of the country."

Some of this criticism is true; anyone in search of a perfect father among the founders (or in life) will be disappointed. But why does Hamilton deserve a second look?

One large, though seldom acknowledged, factor in the great game of historical favorites is personality. One must know Jefferson and James Madison well to dislike them, but dislike them one inevitably does (wisdom comes when we recover our admiration). One of the star pieces in our Hamilton show is Jean Antoine Houdon's great bust of Jefferson, which shows his intelligence, his charm—and his guile. When I took my wife through the show as it was being installed, she saw Jefferson's shifty eyes and remarked that he looked like a used-car salesman.

Three aspects of Hamilton's career claim the attention of conservatives.

First is what put him in George Washington's cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury—his understanding of debt and finance. America emerged from its revolution encumbered by a load of debt, unable even to make the interest payments. In the exhibition, we try to show America's plight by showing the array of currencies, some of them worth little, that late-18th-century Americans used: a copper coin from New Jersey; bills issued by states, colonies, and a private company; and a two-real piece, one quarter of the Spanish dollar or piece of eight. So dependent were we on Spanish dollars that the New York Stock Exchange didn't end its custom of listing prices in eighths of dollars until April 2001.

The Constitution, ratified in 1788, gave the government of the United States the tools to deal with the problem. But Hamilton, almost alone in his generation, saw the problem as an opportunity for a new stage of growth. Hamilton understood that a credible funding of America's debt would make American IOUs circulate like money. Debt, properly handled, could become credit. He understood this because, as Forrest MacDonald and Richard Sylla point out, he understood the financial revolution that had just begun in the modern world, in Holland and Britain. (France tried it under the financier John

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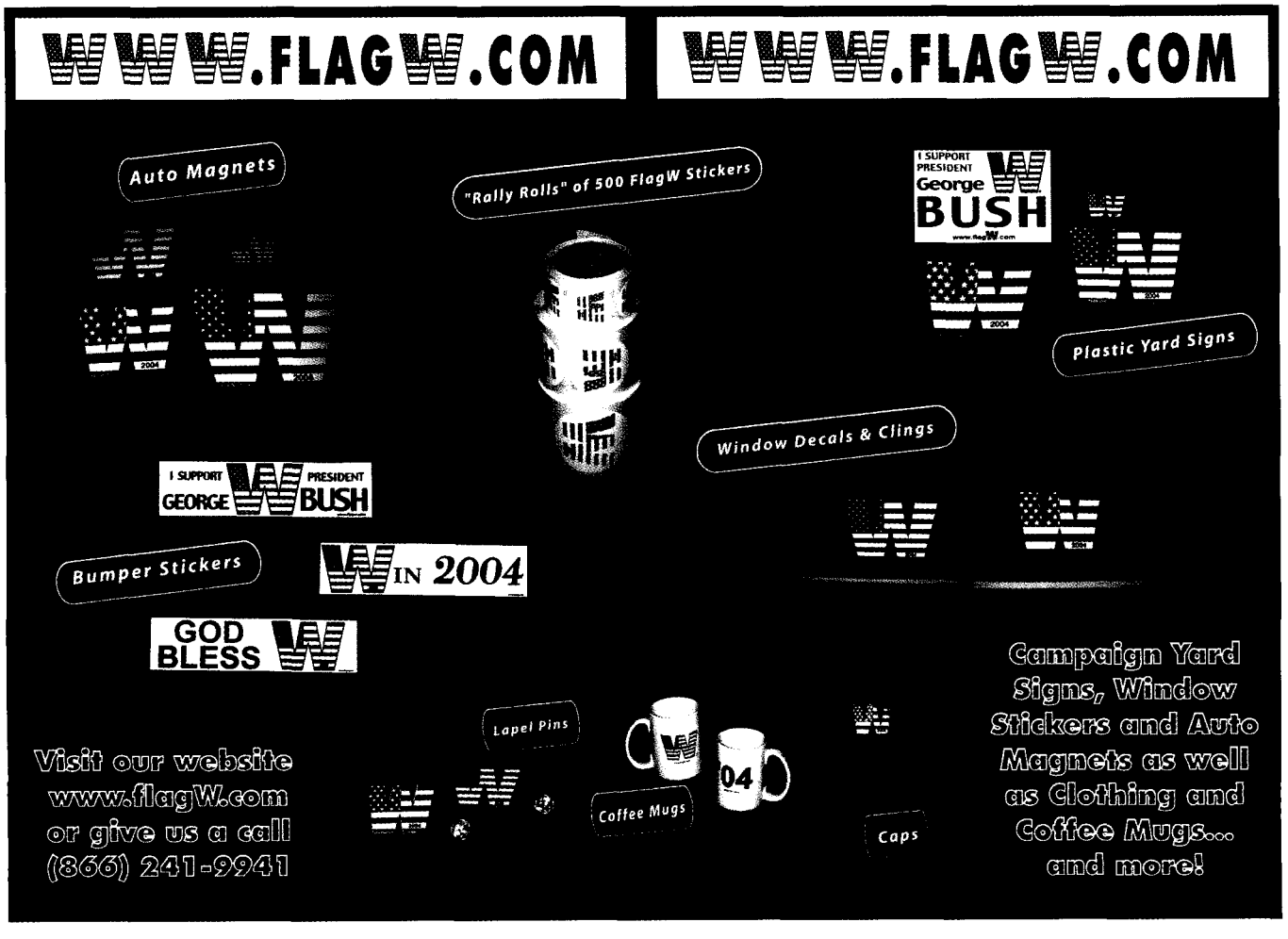
Law, stumbled, then drew back, with dirigiste consequences that still resonate.) Through a combination of youthful experience—Hamilton grew up working in a counting house in the West Indies—and autodidacticism—during the Revolutionary War, he filled an old military paybook with economic trivia—Hamilton understood this modern world. Few of his peers did. Reading the economic opinions in the correspondence of Jefferson and Adams is like reading the anti-usury cantos of Ezra Pound. Washington knew little more than Jefferson and Adams, but he knew that Hamilton knew, and gave him his head.

A second subject Hamilton understood was the world. He knew it was a dangerous place, and that the United States would have to back diplomacy with military might. Hamilton's experience of the Revolution underlay this insight. Many of the great founders—Adams, Jefferson, Madison, the aged Franklin—served as political leaders or diplomats. Hamilton fought. He was with an artillery unit in New York during the disastrous battle of Long Island; he led an infantry charge at the battle of Yorktown. In between, he devilled on Washington's staff, drafting orders, handling correspondence, and getting horses shot out from under him in various engagements. He had been led to fighting by his temperament: When he was a twelve-year-old orphan (mother dead, father AWOL), he closed a letter, the earliest of his that survives, with the adolescent hope, "I wish there was a war."

Hamilton's philosophy told him that there would be no shortage of wars. In *Federalist* No. 6 (Hamilton was the impresario, and chief author of the *Federalist Papers*), he declared that men were "ambitious, vindictive and rapacious. . . . Is it not time to awake from the deceitful dream of a golden age, and to adopt as a practical maxim for the direction of our political conduct, that we, as well as the other inhabitants of the globe, are yet remote from the happy empire of perfect wisdom and perfect virtue?"

The fruit of Hamilton's thinking on war and peace appears in George Washington's Farewell Address, which Hamilton helped the retiring president write. We show a page of Hamilton's handiwork; Bill Safire, Peggy Noonan, and other speechwriters should pay it homage. In foreign policy, the great man, Hamilton, and the greater man, Washington, saw eye to eye. Washington, marinated in Anglo-French rivalry from the French and Indian War to the French Revolution, was the first foreign-policy realist in American history. Hamilton was the first intellectual of foreign-policy realism.

Our most recent deceitful dream of a golden age—the end of history—ended on 9/11. We cannot go to Hamilton for an Iraq policy. But we can go to him for the axes of a policy: prudence; suspicion of rival powers, whether hostile or friendly; willingness to fight; having the resources to do so. Other founders, notably the unworldly Jefferson and Madison, whose policies culminated in the inglorious War of 1812, are simply not in the conversa-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tion (though Jefferson, who often acted better than he talked, did settle the hash of the Barbary pirates).

A third Hamilton trait that claims our attention is his legal thinking; Hamilton's day job, when he was not fighting or running the Treasury, was lawyering. John Marshall, the great Chief Justice, is the father of judicial review. But Marshall said that, next to Hamilton, he felt like a candle by the sun at noon. Hamilton is the grandfather of judicial review.

We show a page of Hamilton's notes for one of his seminal cases, *Rutgers* v. *Waddington* (1784), in which he defended a loyalist who had used the property of a patriot, with the permission of British authorities, in occupied New York City during the Revolutionary war. This document, even more than the draft of the Farewell Address, is like a window into Hamilton's head. It is a page of points, set off by bold capital letters; in the margin, Hamilton drew a little hand pointing to one especially important point. It is the work of a know-it-all. But it is also orderly and clear as a bell. Hamilton thinks he will beat his opponents, but he thinks he will beat them by explaining.

Hamilton argued that his client owed the aggrieved patriot nothing, even though state law had given angry Americans grounds to sue, because the laws of war, and the law of nations, justified obedience to occupying authorities. In an age when the courts lay their hands to everything from fetuses to marriage, appeals to "higher" principles are not popular with conservatives. But Hamilton was appealing to a structure of legal reasoning that English and Continental jurists had been trying to elaborate for more than a century. Judges will appeal to higher laws so long as we allow them to be more than clerks. Conservatives who do not wish to fall back on legislative positivism should educate judges in their own best traditions.

Is Hamilton one of us? No; we should try to be one of his. Hamilton, and Jefferson, and all their great peers, transcend the partisan divisions of our day, even as they have survived the rancor of their own. There were some smart pols then. We should make their acquaintance. **NR**

■ FILM ■

A Flat Sharp

JONATHAN FOREMAN

THE rollicking new film adaptation of *Vanity Fair* has many pleasures, despite the filmmakers' infidelity to the book's satirical tone and a foolish decision to recast Thackeray's fascinating, delightfully vicious anti-heroine Becky Sharp as a mere victim of the mores of her time. These pleasures include amusing performances by Reese Witherspoon and some fine British actors, some enjoyably snarky comic dialogue, attractive locations in England and India, and an understanding that early-19th-century England was more racially diverse than most people think.

All this makes it even more of a shame that the filmmakers felt compelled to sentimentalize and indeed neuter the novel's central character. Perhaps they felt they couldn't pull off Thackeray's wonderful balancing act: His Becky is both a heartless monster *and* a victim of circumstance. She embodies the spirit of her age, and her victims largely deserve her pitiless exploitation of their follies and weaknesses. Even today *Vanity Fair* is a hilarious read, bracing in its robust cynicism about the manners and morals of a peacock Regency world that had not yet submitted to the black-coated rigors of Victorian moralism. Thackeray's characters inhabit a society that had not fully settled on the code of a gentleman—defined by behavior as much as birth—as a way to allocate status and respectability, and whose hierarchies had been undermined by vast new fortunes rapidly made and as rapidly lost.

Director Mira Nair (*Monsoon Wedding*) and her lead screenwriter Julian Fellowes (*Gosford Park*) take relatively few liberties with the novel's basic plot. Becky (Reese Witherspoon) is still the orphaned daughter of a profligate artist and a French opera girl, still sent off to study and teach at a Ladies' finishing school, and still doomed to the genteel half-life of a governess unless she can use her looks, accomplishments, and wiles to land herself a husband.

Her best friend, Amelia (Romola Garai), is still a constantly weeping simp, in love with the arrogant social-climbing

Mr. Foreman is a New York-based writer and critic.

Reese Witherspoon as Becky Sharp

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army officer Osborne (Jonathan Rhys Meyers), and blind to the adoration of gawky but noble Dobbin (Rhys Ifans). And Becky's social ascent remains much as it was in the book, at least until her marriage to handsome gambler and Guards officer Rawdon (James Purefoy). Thereafter, Becky's flirtations and affairs are made much more innocent than in the novel. (Her only moral weakness here is a lack of maternal passion.) And by the end of the film's second act she is depicted as positively naïve: Her life seems to be a series of betrayals by initially helpful and attractive aristocratic mentors. When cynical Lord Steyne (here no aging homunculus but handsome Gabriel Byrne) who has promoted Becky's rise in society and paid off her crushing debts, finally insists on payment in kind, Becky is both shocked and adamant in her refusal! At this point the film ceases to make either dramatic or satirical sense.

Lovers of the novel will be disappointed by the loss of much of its dry humor. Nair and Fellowes have dropped the knowing narration that gives the novel much of its satirical bite. It may be that Thackeray's pleasurable disgust at Regency society's vain cruelties was either too affectionate or too nuanced for the filmmakers to reproduce with conviction; at any rate they clearly felt obliged to impose on Thackeray's tale a crude and much less interesting modern feminist theme.

There are moments when Nair seems to be on an unworthy double mission. First, she strains to show 19th-century England as much uglier and more drab than audiences used to Merchant-Ivory might expect; second, she trumpets a liberated, "post-colonial" lack of respect for—or even understanding of—a dead white male's English classic, as if Thackeray's perspective on his society were somehow inevitably, cripplingly narrow or politically naïve. Given that the film's titles include a dedication to the late Edward Said, of *Orientalism* notoriety, perhaps one ought to be grateful that the film's Indian sequences don't show lashed coolies bleeding to produce England's enormous new wealth; instead, the film's "exotic" Indian scenes could come right out of tourist brochures and J. Peterman-style safari catalogues, with red, rugged Rajasthani forts under piercing blue skies, dancing peasants, swaying elephants, and dashing men in riding boots.

Another of the film's pleasures turns out to be its (slightly heavy-handed) emphasis on how much Regency England was fascinated by all things Oriental—a fascination shared and also deplored by Calcutta-born Thackeray. This was a time when "going native" was almost the norm for the Britons who went out to India. The film includes a scene in the book in which Jos Sedley, on leave from his job in Boggley Wollah, insists on being served the Indian food he has come to love.

There is also much to be said for the colorful and courageous manner (with hints of Bollywood) in which Nair uses music in this film, taking genuine pleasure in the way this pre-gramophone society valued music and song. Rather than telling you that Becky Sharp has a great voice and that musical accomplishments are a powerful social weapon, Nair takes the risk of stopping the action while Becky sings entire songs to dumbstruck drawing rooms. It works: Witherspoon (or whoever performs her songs) sings beautifully, notably a lovely setting of Byron's "She Walks In Beauty."

Photographed by Declan Quinn, Nair's superb collaborator on *Monsoon Wedding*, the film takes in a wider canvas than a *Masterpiece Theater* production but sometimes feels a little cramped, in the way of so many lower-budget costume films. (One misses the grand scale of Kubrick's Thackeray venture, *Barry Lyndon*, especially in the scenes dealing with the battle of Waterloo.)

All the film's virtues only underscore how regrettable is its fall into the trap of modern sentimentalism. After all, the always-terrific Witherspoon would have had no difficulty playing a sweet-faced but ruthless little manipulator—she did so, wonderfully, in *Election* and *Freeway*—whose callousness is only partially explained by her circumstances. In the film, as in the book, the newly graduated Becky throws the gift of a copy of Johnson's *Dictionary* (a symbol of 18th-century sensibilities) out of her carriage window. But in the book, she's hurling it back not at a mean schoolteacher but, with stunning callousness, at the feet of a sweet little girl who adores her. The sight of America's heart-faced sweetheart behaving with such careless cruelty might have had the impact of Henry Fonda's murder of the little boy in *Once Upon a Time in the West*. **NR**

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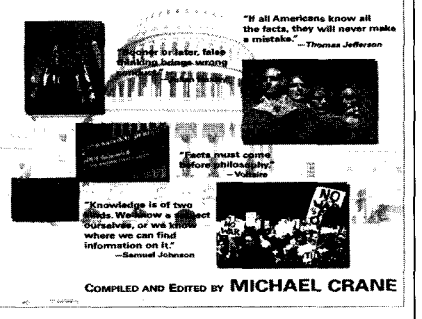
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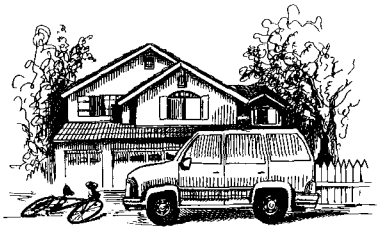
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Tiny Revolutions



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

I AM not at my best in the shower. That is not an aesthetic judgment—I leave the relevant aesthetic judgment to others—but a temperamental one. The humid, claustrophobic ambience of the domestic shower stall just does not suit me. I do what is necessary to be done, then get out of there as quickly as I can. So imagine my consternation the other morning, when, with the curtain pulled across and the water temperature suitably adjusted, I reached for the soap—to find it gone! No soap! Groping around desperately in the steamy murk, I could find only an assortment of plastic bottles containing what I supposed to be shampoo.

Subsequent irate inquiries revealed that I had, by no means for the first time, been blindsided by the *zeitgeist*. My wife, with heavy scorn, instructed me that *nobody* keeps a bar of soap in the shower any more. One of the bottles I had taken for shampoo in fact, she showed me, held something called "shower gel"—a far more hygienic, cost-efficient, environmentally sound, dermatologically friendly, life-enhancing, and soul-uplifting body cleanser than my uncouth bar of soap.

In situations like this a conservative's role is to do what the founder of this magazine urged us all to do: stand athwart history yelling "Stop!" I have restored my bar of soap, with all its decades of familiarity and its pleasant hand-sized roundness. In a spirit of pure reaction, I have even contemplated buying a loofah. Yet I know that this fight will ultimately be lost. A year or two from now, bar soap will be available only over the Internet from specialty retailers in Third World countries. I shall tire of the struggle, fall in with the herd, and start lathering up with shower gel. Life is too short to fight all the battles that ought to be fought; each of us must choose his ground.

And perhaps it is all for the best. This is one of those tiny revolutions in everyday affairs that, unlike their bigger, more world-shaking relatives, actually might leave us better off.

Take kitchen roll, for instance. In my childhood the family kitchen harbored a thing called the dishrag. When doing the dishes, you cleaned them off with the dishrag in a bowl of soapy water. In between times, you used the dishrag to wipe up spills on the kitchen work surfaces (though never on the floor—that was the mop's domain). The conscientious housewife rinsed her dishrag out after each use, of course, and it got boiled up with the rest of the wash every Monday. Still, you couldn't help noticing, toward the end of the week, a faint cheesy aroma developing on the dishrag. At the trough of its cleanliness cycle, the family dishrag probably contained more bacteria than the rest of the house combined. And then kitchen roll came in: You tear a piece off, mop up the spill, and *throw it away*! (While for dishes we now have an entire dedicated machine.)

Or consider handkerchiefs. These were once a mark of gentility and prosperity. This is still the case in less-developed parts of the world. (Chinese riddle: What is it that a rich man carries around in his pocket but a poor man leaves lying on the street?) One of Tom Sawyer's grounds for loathing Willie Mufferson, the town's model boy, was that he sported a handkerchief: "He always brought his mother to church, and was the pride of all the matrons. The boys all hated him, he was so good. And besides, he had been 'thrown up to them' so much. His white handkerchief was hanging out of his pocket behind, as usual on Sundays—accidentally. Tom had no handkerchief, and he looked upon boys who had as snobs."

In 1950s England, in fact, the handkerchief was still being promoted as a hygienic advance. Public-service clips were shown between the features in movie theaters, urging citizens to sneeze into a handkerchief, rather than into other people's faces. I can still sing the accompanying jingle, to Haydn's *Austria* tune, a.k.a. "*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*": "Coughs and sneezes spread diseases! / Catch the germs in your handkerchief!"

Yet nowadays the humble handkerchief is fast becoming extinct, as in our well-furnished urban lives we are never far away from a pack of paper tissues and a waste bin. I still doggedly carry two handkerchiefs with me wherever I go, but it has been some time since I ventured to blow my nose into one in public, or saw anyone else perform this once-commonplace act. (Of George Orwell's unsleeping social conscience, Cyril Connolly remarked: "He couldn't blow his nose without moralizing on conditions in the handkerchief industry.") Nor can I remember the last time I got a pack of good linen handkerchiefs as a birthday present, though this item once shared with the necktie the role of default gift from unimaginative relatives.

No doubt it is all for the best, all for the best. The most notable of these tiny revolutions in our own time has, after all, been the end of promiscuous smoking, a change I welcome. Now, I will certainly allow that the anti-smokers have gone much too far. I was astonished recently to find that smoking was altogether forbidden in the tony, and very expensive, gentlemen's clubs of New York City—"for the sake of the employees' health." I spotted one of those employees in the courtyard at the back of the club, whither he had excused himself to smoke a cigarette. Yet still I am sure that even those of us who are angered by these busybody impositions, if we were transported back in time three or four decades, would find it hard to contain our disgust at the ubiquitous sting and stench of tobacco smoke. In those cinemas of my childhood we watched the movie through a braided veil of smoke rising from hundreds of cigarettes. It's a wonder we could make out what was happening on screen.

No, not all things are worth conserving, even to a conservative. While there is virtue in taking a modest, principled stand for the tried and familiar, common sense demands that we sooner or later accept changes that plainly improve our health and comfort. Those people who puff and preen by calling themselves "progressive" are, of course, liars, or crooks, or fools, every one; but it's hard to be consistently hostile to progress nonetheless. NR

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on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

The People from Missouri

NEW YORK, AUGUST 6

THE issue of gay marriage was all but ignored in Boston when the Democrats convened there a fortnight ago. The word went out that Management didn't want the issue raised. The candidates were set in what one might call the abortion mode. The abortion mode tells a politician to say: "I do not believe in abortion, but whether to have one is a matter of human rights." We know that such a right was deciphered by the Supreme Court in 1973's *Roe* v. *Wade*. On gay marriage, the withdrawal goes one step further. The line is: "I'm against gay marriage, but it's up to the individual states to decide whether to authorize it."

That was the procedure back before *Roe*: abortion was or was not permitted according as state legislatures decided. Authority on the matter was wrested from the states by the Supreme Court. And it is exactly that looming omnipresence that the voters of Missouri anticipated in their vote on Tuesday. The timing wasn't planned that way, but the day after Missouri spoke out, a Superior Court judge in the state of Washington spoke up on the other side. The judge's language was almost identical to that of the court in Massachusetts that set off the whole argument. The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that the state constitution's equal-protection and due-process provisions granted conjugal rights to gays, and the bells tolled, as they did in San Francisco under the patronage of rump political leaders who sought to prescind the law on the question.

The Democratic leadership is understandably concerned about the political implications of the Missouri vote. President Bush months ago took the controversy in hand when he called for a constitutional amendment. Not an amendment to ban gay marriage, but one to reserve authority on the question to the states. The Democrats' fear is that the Republican party's association with the defense of normal marriage will influence voters who would otherwise go Democratic, and cause them to switch to the GOP in the election.

President Bush will almost certainly stay out of the way of the controversy between now and the GOP convention. By the same token, John Kerry is not going to look for an early opportunity to denounce the voters of Missouri as reactionaries who believe that Adam and Eve set an important precedent. The divide in the thinking on the question by contemporary Americans was adroitly formulated by a campaign manager for gay marriage. Jeff Wunrow said he was busy digesting what had happened. "The only thing I think I've learned is to be careful about trusting your instincts. I learned that I don't think I inherently know much about average voters in Missouri. Every message I thought made sense didn't resonate. I guess what it says is that seven out of ten people here think they know better how I should live my life than I do."

The voters of Missouri aren't saying that. They are seeking to reinforce two traditions, one social, one political. They are defending an institution which is incoherent if attempted by persons of the same sex. That, and the tradition that certain matters are decided not by courts but by political bodies. Leaving the question to the individual states to decide is a broad acknowledgment of political divisions of authority, and is not to be taken as "gay bashing."

Here Bush could say something correct and conciliatory. He does not have far to go in his intimate political family to affirm the individual rights of one of his vice president's children, who leads life as a gay, and must be protected. But this is not to endorse the inherent dissimulation that "marriage" between two members of the same sex attempts. It is unlikely that Candidate John Kerry will publicly dispute the vote in Missouri.

The War We Are In

NEW YORK, AUGUST 20

BACK home in *Commentary* magazine, Norman Podhoretz has written a mighty essay, "World War IV: How It Started, What It Means, and Why We Have to Win." Podhoretz is careful in his use of language, so that when he writes of World War IV he isn't just using a racy metaphor. We are at war with radical Islamic individuals and aggregations. We are contending with them in Afghanistan and Iraq, but they fester everywhere in the Islamic world and we have, Podhoretz warns, no alternative but to persevere in the war. Wage it we must, but there is always the possibility of losing it.

Podhoretz gives us, in this ambitious essay, the history of the world wars we have engaged in. He doesn't linger on the Second World War, since its causes were as plain as the dawn light over Pearl Harbor. He does linger over the near-immediate conversion to the cause of war of the isolationist right after Dec. 7, 1941. His focus moves then to the next great political consolidation, which came with the defeat of the capitulationist Henry Wallace movement in 1948 and the consolidation in support of the Truman Doctrine. That was World War III, which ended four decades later with the implosion of the Soviet system beginning in 1989. There had been weaknesses and there had been faltering: but we made it, and waited happily around a few years for the beginning of World War IV, which was ignited on 9/11.

Podhoretz examines trenchantly the subsequent movement of the dissidents. At first, the national unity was galvanizing. Doubts about our raw military prowess were speedily dismissed with the stunning victories in Afghanistan and Iraq, giving us the conquest of Baghdad and the dissolution of Saddam's army at (in military terms) minimal cost.

But our undertaking, as outlined by President Bush in his Sept. 20, 2001, speech to a joint session of Congress, confronted more than the orthodox military challenge. Wars have a more contracted shelf life in the public patience than was so in years gone by. Nobody expected that the war against Hitler

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would quickly be over, and there was no lesion of public support for it. Podhoretz reminds us that even the Vietnam war met with overwhelming approval for three years. But this time the twitchiness began less than a year or so after our offensive launch in Iraq. The critics began not merely to carp, but to question the legitimacy of our aims—and, even, the motives of the president.

The opposition broadened its base rapidly. "What we saw developing," Podhoretz writes, "was a broader coalition than the antiwar movement spawned by Vietnam had managed." It was seconded "by all the Democratic candidates in the presidential primaries, except for Joseph Lieberman." Giving quotations, Podhoretz marvels at the temperament of the opposition. "I never imagined that the new antiwar movement would so rapidly arrive at the stage of virulence it had taken years for its ancestors of the Vietnam era to reach."

Where do we go from here? Podhoretz tells why the reelection of Bush is enduringly important if we are to persevere in the war that has been declared against ideals with which we were associated in the three preceding world wars. Podhoretz himself has had profound insights in the past thirty years, speaking wisely and prophetically. He has grounds now to sound the tocsin, but also to express hope. Radical Islam is not going to renounce what we take to be its ways. But there is a "very good chance that a clearing of the ground, and a sowing of the seeds out of which new political, economic, and social conditions could grow [in the Mideast], would gradually give rise to correlative religious pressures from within. Such pressures would take the form of an ultimately irresistible demand on theologians and clerics to find warrants in the Quran and the sharia under which it would be possible to remain a good Muslim while enjoying the blessings of decent government, and even of political and economic liberty."

The alternative in November is the election of an ambiguist as president, who would weaken our purpose while enlivening the combative resources of a radical Islamic community which never rose up against the savagery of a great despot, and which celebrates now not those who put him away, but those who seek to emulate him.

Angelic Charley?

NEW YORK, AUGUST 25

THE numbing challenge of reconstruction in the track of Hurricane Charley begins. Observers rushed to calculate the cost. Would it require $15 billion to put Florida back together? Or $20 billion? But one casualty of the damage was not immediately considered. This was the loss of faith of some people in Florida who stared down at the debris that only hours earlier had been their homes.

The *New York Times* spotted the story. Its article was entitled, "After the Storm Come Tests of Faith." And the subtitle, "Beleaguered Residents Find Their Churches Damaged, Too." Why bother to reconstruct a church to serve as a center for the cultivation of faith in the same God who spawned Hurricane Charley? The reporter describes the First Baptist Church of Lake Wales. One sees "more than a half-million dollars in damage. . . . The actual church was largely spared, save for an off-kilter steeple hanging forlornly above the circular sanctuary." A jaunty reminder that the church lives on, never mind the surrounding desolation? On another site, a determination to survive was outspoken, though the strains of it, depressing. "This is going to be a construction zone for a long time to come." said Pastor Dennis Postell. "Outside," the *Times* dispatch continued, "beneath the white tent, the church's minister of music, Bill Maginn, led an 8-piece band and a 16-member chorus through spiritual songs as the passing traffic . . . slowed to listen. 'Good morning, everybody,' Mr. Maginn shouted. 'Isn't it great to be alive?'"

* * *

So how explain devotion to a God who permitted Charley? Over 70 years ago, two thoughtful British intellectuals exchanged views on basic Christian questions. One of them, Ronald Knox, was a Catholic priest, a convert, who would soon embark on a retranslation of the entire Bible. The second, Arnold Lunn, was an adventurer, a mountaineer, a philosopher who was seeking his way to Christianity through the rubble of Christian history. The published exchange—Knox the learned evangelist, Lunn the obdurate skeptic—threatened at one point to abort. "I think the point of our difference may be expressed thus," said Knox. "You will not go with me to worship a God who is limited by nothing outside Himself, because you do not think that He exists. And I will not go with you to worship a God who is limited by anything outside Himself, because I do not care a rap whether He exists or not."

Knox was saying: If you are preparing to worship a God who doesn't have the authority to tame a hurricane, your God is not grand enough for me to venerate. A few years after their famous exchange, Lunn inscribed himself as a Christian.

What the Christian cannot do is adduce a reason for everything that happens. A rabbi told me many years ago that after he discovered the Holocaust, he gave up his religion. A God who permits the Holocaust to happen is not a God that rabbi wished to worship.

There was no answer to the rabbi, unless one is bent on composing a ledger that ends up with God doing more good things than bad. Fr. George Tyrrell wrote early in the 20th century that human beings could not be expected to love God, but rather to aspire to love him. To love the God who devised Charley would require the discovery of an intersection between what Charley has done, and the blessings it would some day be conceded to have brought on.

That is too big a job for most Christians to take on. The best a Christian can do is to take refuge in what we have called the Butler Escape. Bishop Joseph Butler, 18th-century theologian, conceded that "the world would be different if I had created it." Yes, in the world you and I would have created, we'd have done without all those things, hurricanes and holocausts and hate and envy and spite and . . . gratitude?

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

"I'm going to try delegating some authority—create a woman."

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

NoEffect.org

A FEW years ago, I had an agent who was hard to get hold of. I'd call him up and his secretary would say, "Oh, he's with *Vanity Fair* right now." I'd enquire hopefully as to which of his clients the perfumed glossy had chosen to feature, and she'd say, "Oh, no. It's not for any clients. *Vanity Fair*'s doing a profile of him—'the king of a new breed of super-agents who are changing the way the industry does business.'"

"Oh, really?" I'd say. "Well, if you could have him call me next wee—"

"I'll try. But he's doing a photo shoot for *Paris Match* on Monday, and then on Tuesday he's go—"

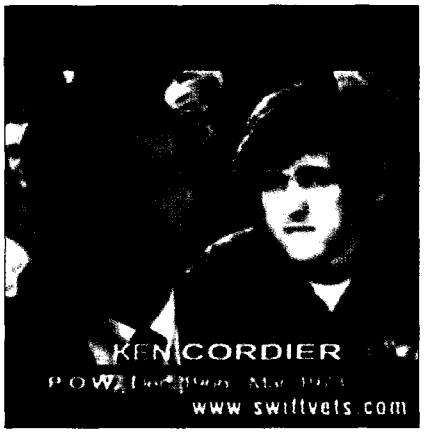
Week in, week out, I'd pick up a magazine or newspaper and see my agent staring out from the full-page spread. "Gee," I thought, "whoever's my agent's agent is doing a great job."

That's how I feel about MoveOn.org. Hardly a day goes by without some featurette or other on "how the Internet is changing the way we do politics" or some such, with seemingly obligatory references to the spectacular success of MoveOn.org. But, in all the stories about the spectacular success, nobody ever seems to point to any examples of what they're spectacularly successful at. They've certainly raised and spent a lot of money, but what do they have to show for it other than their own hype?

"MoveOn.org Becomes Anti-Bush Powerhouse," says CNN. But have they knocked the Bush campaign off course? Have they peeled away voters in key states? The only critical wobbly "red" state has been Florida, and that's a result more of demographic trends than anything else: Those incoming oldsters aren't voting Democrat because MoveOn.org is the talk of their gated community.

By comparison, Swift Boat Veterans for Truth raised very little money and spent even less. According to the IRS records up to September 5, MoveOn.org had total "527" receipts of $9,086,102 and total expenditures of $17,435,782; the Swift Vets had total "527" receipts of $158,750 and total expenditures of $60,403. Who would you say got a bigger bang for their buck?

The Swifties rarely get cited as an example of a new energizing force, only as the umpteenth coachload of "Republican-funded smear merchants." But they changed the dynamic of the presidential race. They paralyzed the Kerry campaign, deprived it of its only theme and left it floundering in search of another. They forced John Kerry himself into hiding from inter-



The Swifties: Not bad for one month's work

viewers for over a month. They led to mockery of his Vietnam campaign strategy by mainstream Republicans like Bob Dole and criticism of it by mainstream Democrats like Bill Clinton. They prompted Kerry to hire hundreds of new advisers to add to the thousands of old ones, and thereby obliged the snooty old media, who'd barely given the Swiftie "Republican liars" the time of day, to start running stories on the crisis in the senator's campaign. As the icing on the cake, one of Kerry's medals is now the subject of an official U.S. Navy investigation.

Not bad for one month's work. MoveOn.org, on the other hand, has generated a thousand articles on the buzz, the cool, the chic of MoveOn.org. Rather than a transformative force, they're remarkably like those two other props of the Democratic party, the music business and Hollywood, in both of which blowing millions to little effect is a way of life. Look at it this way: If anybody from MoveOn.org turned up to be interviewed by Judy Woodruff or Tim Russert, what on earth would you ask them other than "How much more dough did you raise and spend this week?"

I'd argue that the MoveOn crowd has done more damage to the Democrats than to the Republicans. Rather than making new converts for the party, they seem mainly to have radicalized the existing ones. Not sufficiently to force one of their own—an explicitly anti-war candidate—on the Dems, but enough to require a vacuous establishment nominee to genuflect in their direction. Whether or not America is still a 50/50 country, the Democrats have wound up with a 50/50 candidate. Sometimes Kerry says he'd have done what Bush did, only "smarter" and with more French input; a week later, he says it was "the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time." After Bush artfully bounced Kerry into saying, if he had to do it all over again, he'd still have voted for the Iraq war, it was the MoveOn Democrats who bounced him back, furious at what they saw as a repudiation of the official line.

In other words, MoveOn.org is beginning to look a lot like NARAL and the NEA and the Jackson/Sharpton ethnic-grievance mongers: an unrepresentative group that prevents Democratic candidates from any serious thinking on the relevant issue. When it's abortion or education or race, the party can still just about get away with fudging it and sliding past with weaselly evasions. But the war and national security are the central questions in American politics for the foreseeable future. The Swift Vets will go away when John Kerry does. But I doubt MoveOn.org will. Rich but barren, they're not a new force but as perfect a manifestation of the modern Democratic party's ideological nullity as could be devised. **NR**

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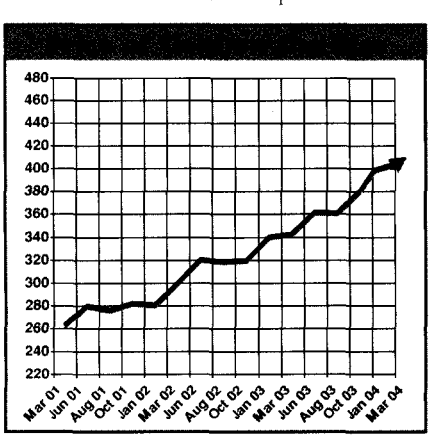
CHINESE GOVERNMENT IGNITES WORLD'S BIGGEST GOLD RUSH

GOLD COIN OWNERSHIP LEGALIZED FOR FIRST TIME IN OVER 50 YEARS—SURGE IN WORLDWIDE GOLD DEMAND CREATES SHORTAGE

Shown larger than actual size of 18 mm

SHANGHAI, China, Tuesday 8:55 AM — What happens when 1.2 *billion* people suddenly have the opportunity to own gold after more than half a century? And what if their country has been minting one of the world's most popular gold coins for years, but they've never had the chance to own it? This is the amazing story unfolding this moment in China, where the government is legalizing gold coin ownership for its citizens, the world's largest population.

Take a look back at what happened in the United States in 1975, when the U.S. government made it legal for Americans to again own gold. An entirely new market exploded overnight. In a few years gold prices shot up to over $800 an ounce and old U.S. gold coins rocketed to unheard-of prices! What will happen to the market when the Chinese, with 25% of the entire world's population, can finally own their beloved gold coins for the first time ever?



BANNED GOLD PANDAS ARE THE KEY

China has issued its own gold coin, the Panda, since 1982. With its popular theme, higher purity than U.S. coins (.999 pure gold) and limited mintage, the solid gold Panda has become one of the world's most coveted bullion coins, trading at a premium above all others. The "catch" is, virtually everybody in the world has been able to own them *except for the Chinese people themselves!* But now that the Chinese can buy their own gold Panda coins, the demand of 1.2 billion people is already starting to overwhelm the supply of 2004 Pandas.

Make no mistake, there is a huge pent-up demand for Panda coins in China. Several years ago, China sanctioned its first coin collector show. Chinese citizens had the opportunity to buy a simple brass Panda coin. Demand was so fierce that lines of eager buyers stretched out the doors and around the block. When it comes to gold, the Chinese are even more fanatical. When the Shanghai Gold Exchange recently opened for business, Chinese citizens bought 1.2 TONS of gold bars in just *one month!*

CHINESE BUREAUCRACY MISCALCULATES

For years the total mintage of China's 50 Yuan gold Panda has been limited to just 25,000 ounces for the entire world. But it is astounding to see that the China Mint has once again set the same edition limit for the new 2004 gold Panda — even though the Chinese people now have their first chance ever to buy them! It's a mystery as to why the Chinese bureaucracy could miscalculate so badly as to not take into account the demand from its own 1.2 billion people.

ORDER YOUR GOLD PANDAS BEFORE THEY DISAPPEAR BACK TO CHINA

The 2004 Gold Panda has a glittering mirror finish with frosted image of a mother Panda with her baby and will be minted this year only. The 50 Yuan coin is legal tender and struck in 3.11 grams of pure .999 gold. It will be delivered to you sealed in a clear protective holder and accompanied by a Certificate of Authenticity. While our supply lasts, your cost is just $88.50 plus S/H. **Note: Due to rapid changes in the price of gold bullion and the worldwide demand for gold Pandas this price can only be guaranteed for 60 days. Due to limited mintage this coin is subject to sell-out.**

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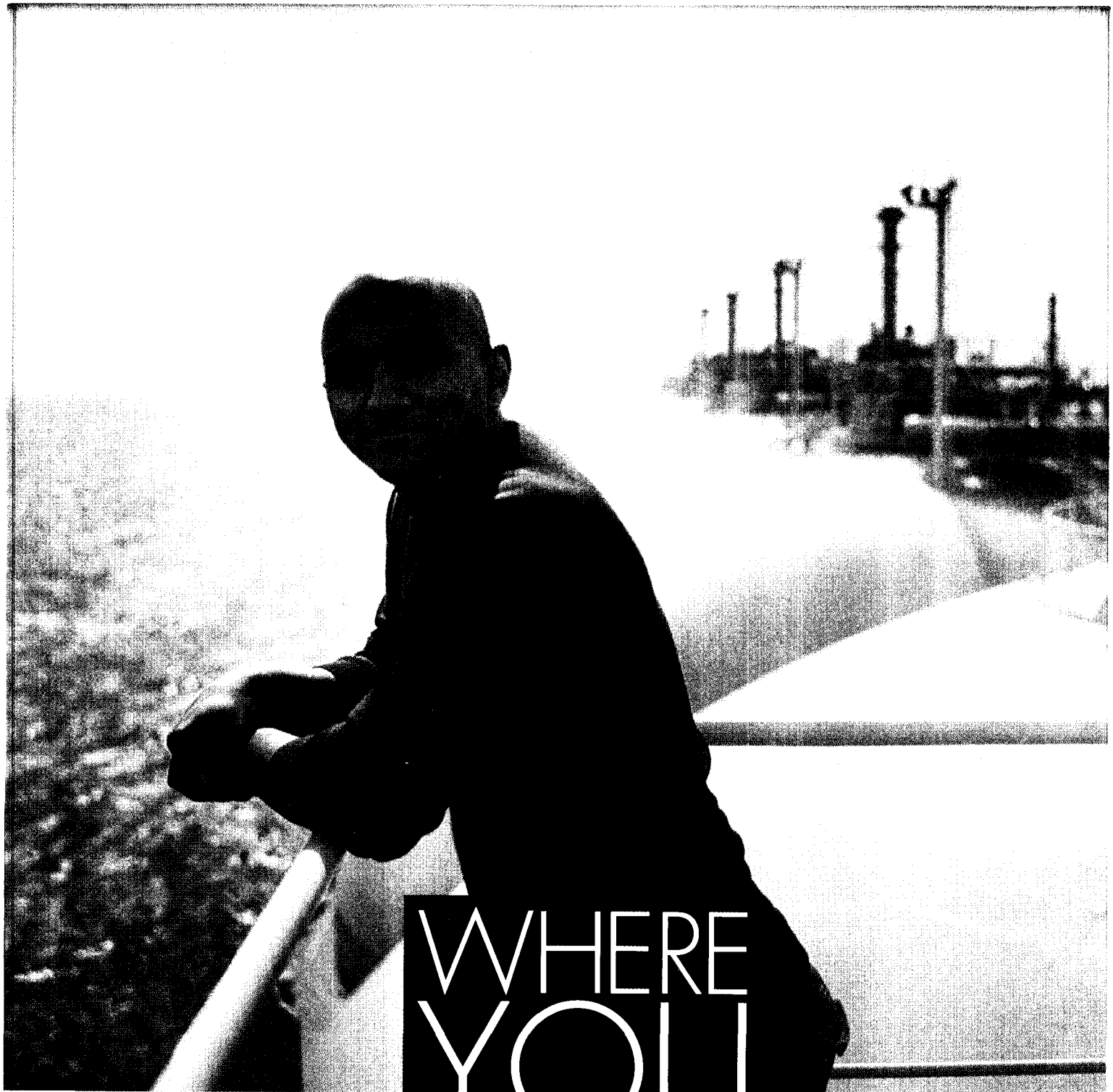

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